IMAGING AND IMAGININGS OF HAWAIIANNESS IN THE CONTEMPORARY HAWAIIAN ISLANDS

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A

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Abstract

The desire for the Hawaiian Kingdom to be restored and recognized as a nation-state has been a common interest among Hawaiians since the illegal United States occupation in 1893. However, colonial induced turbulence, caused by annexation, statehood, an early 20th century ban on Hawaiian language and cultural activities, the 50 percent blood quantum rule, and tourism, have had a profound impact on perceptions of Hawaiianness and Hawaiian identity and unity. With this historical backdrop, the thesis presents an analysis of the role and impact of the visual landscape in the construction and maintenance of individual and group identity in Hawai'i. The ethnographic fieldwork for this study, in addition to general observations, involved three programmatic research activities: participant photographic observations, a pile sort, and category tests. These exercises used images that reflected various aspects of Hawaiian history, symbolism and iconography. The aim of these open-ended but controlled activities was to gain a deeper understanding of contemporary Hawaiian identity through indigenous Hawaiians' and Hawai'i residents' perceptions of Hawaiianness. Perceptions and expression of Hawaiianness and Hawaiian identity were examined on the basis of responses to visual elements of the public environment such as street signs, advertisements, activities, and landscapes on Hawai'i Island. Such visual elements in the public environment are often designed to meet visitors' and residents' desires and expectations. With the Hawaiian Sovereignty Movement as an important driving force, many Hawaiians are working towards "socio-visual sustainability" and a culturally sustaining and more unified future.

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A Note to Readers

Halualani (2002) discusses how liberalized Hawaiianness and Hawaiian identity have become, noting that "I have always been interested in the linkages, disconnections, oppositions, and contradictions in identifying Hawaiians over time and identifying who I am" (vii). In this thesis I use "Hawaiians" and "indigenous Hawaiians" interchangeably, and recognize these English terms as equivalent to *Kānaka Maoli* and *Kānaka 'Oiwi,* to "describe those indigenous to Hawai'i" (Kauanui 2008:xii), the land and geographical location, not the State of Hawaii. It should be noted that *kānaka* is the plural form of *kanaka* (man) and will be used as such throughout this thesis; however, any author's use of this word will be retained as it appears in their writing. The description of Hawaiians used in this thesis refers to Queen Lili'uokalani's definition: "When I speak ... of the Hawaiian people, I refer to the children of the soil, — the native inhabitants of the Hawaiian Islands and their descendants" (Lili'uokalani 1995:325). I use "Hawai'i residents" and "non-Hawaiians" interchangeably to describe those living in but not indigenous to Hawai'i, including *Locals*, long and short term residents; however, where appropriate, I use non-Hawaiians to describe those not of Hawaiian descent.

Yamamoto (1979) refers to *Locals* as inclusive of indigenous Hawaiians and subsequent waves of immigrants brought to the Hawaiian Islands by foreigners' interests, mostly United States (Halualani 2002; Okamura 1994). Halualani (2002) defines *Locals* as:

> Far from being mere geographic residents of Hawai'i, Locals refers to descendants of those groups who took part in the working-class plantation experience, endured difficult and enforced travels to Hawai'i (many pushed out by economic pressures at home, threats to their nation, and the gendered roles of marriage, family, and labor) and were not part of dominant society (i.e., *haole* business/governmental interests and residents). [3].

Local culture is multicultural and is envisioned as being the basis of a multicultural identity. *Locals* feel they are Hawaiian too because they arrived on the Hawaiian Islands and made a life, similar to the first Polynesians who arrived in the islands between 200

and 400 A.D. (Sakoda and Siegel 2003). *Locals* differentiate themselves from *haoles* through their protection of the islands. They do not intrude on the Hawaiian Islands with "mainland business interests and foreign investment parties from other countries (e.g. Japan, Korea)" (Halualani 2002:3). Stephen Sumida (in Halualani 2002) explains that "In Hawai'i, 'Hawaiian' is commonly taken to mean 'Hawaiian' and is usually reserved for that use in order to avoid ambiguity among those who speak these terms---that is, among locals. A Hawaiian is quintessentially a local, but a local is not necessarily a Hawaiian" (3). For this thesis, I use Halualani's (2002) description of a *Local*, capitalizing and italicizing the word "local," and 'Hawaiians', 'Native Hawaiians', 'native Hawaiians' or 'Kānaka Maoli' to refer to the Hawaiians. Kauanui (2008) distinguishes between 'native Hawaiians' and 'Native Hawaiians'. The former is used when referring to the 50 percent definition and the latter is used "when referring to its legal context where it is defined as anyone of Hawaiian ancestry without regard for the blood quantum rule" (xii). 'Kānaka Maoli' and 'Hawaiian' are used to refer to people indigenous to the Hawaiian Islands. I mean to make the distinction between the descendants of the people living in the islands before and after the arrival of Europeans and European-Americans (i.e., Hawaiians as distinct from Hawai'i residents) to designate the additional cultural groups in Hawai'i that are a direct result of contact. Thus "resident" is a marker used to designate the additional cultural groups in Hawai'i that are a direct result of contact. Additionally, "Hawai'i resident" is meant to refer to those living on Hawai'i Island whereas "Hawaii resident" means a person who resides in the State of Hawaii. While the State of Hawaii views Hawaiians as residents, I use the word 'residents' to refer to those who live in Hawai'i as a result of contact, post-Hawaiian arrival. As Kauanui (2008) discusses, "'Hawaiian' does not work as a residency marker in the way "Californian" does" (xii).

"Hawai'i Island" refers to the largest island in the Hawaiian Island chain. It is different from "Hawai'i" and "Hawaiian Islands" which refer to the land and geographical location. Hawai'i Island is also referred to as "the Big Island" because it is

the biggest island in the Hawaiian Island chain. Thus, I use "Hawai'i Island" and "the Big Island" interchangeably. I use "Hawai'i" (with *ka'okina*–the glottal stop) to refer to the Hawaiian Islands and geographical location. I use "Hawaii" and "State of Hawaii" interchangeably when discussing the State of Hawaii (note that neither have *ka 'okina* to represent the glottal stop); however, I retain each author's spelling of Hawaiian words to reflect historical usage. I use contemporary Hawaiian definitions and macrons, *ka 'okina* and *ke kahakō,* from two Hawaiian dictionaries, Pukui and Elbert (1986) and Ulukau Hawaiian Electronic Dictionary (2010). I use Hawaiian singular articles (*ke* and *ka*), plural definite article (*nā*), and singular indefinite article (*he*), when I use Hawaiian nouns, although the Hawaiian language contains many types of determiners. Hawaiian words are italicized and defined according to the Hawaiian Dictionary by Pukui and Elbert (1986), Pukui, Elbert, and Mookini (1974) and Ulukau Hawaiian Electronic Dictionary (2009).

Participants' given names have been replaced by pseudonyms to ensure confidentiality. Hawaiian participants have Hawaiian names (Kamaka, Ke'ala, Kealoha, Keola, Leilani, Noelani, A'ala, Malia, Kawika, Keoni, Māhealani, Kanani, Ikaika, Kainoa) and Hawai'i resident participants have non-Hawaiian names (Addison, Alfred, Arthur, Ava, Ben, Ethan, Jacob, John, Brad). "Visual elements of the public environment" refers to objects and subjects that are available to be seen by everyone.

Chapter 1: Introduction

"Tell me the landscape in which you live, and I will tell you who you are."

~José Ortega y Gasset

Initial Perceptions

May 16th, 2006 in the early morning approach to Honolulu[1] International Airport—my flight to the Hawaiian Islands on Hawaiian Air consisted of beautiful flight attendants of obvious Polynesian descent, pushing a beverage cart down the aisle asking if I would like juice or coffee. I requested juice. It was passion fruit and guava flavored juice sealed inside of a plastic cup and aluminum lid with a Hawaiian woman on top of it. Already the Hawaiian Islands appeared "touristy" as had been portrayed to me in U.S. Mainland[2] media. In fact, it was the only discourse about Hawai'i that I knew—a tourist destination far away from home but still "home." Tourist Hawai'i and Pearl Harbor can sometimes be the extent of Mainland education on the Hawaiian Islands. Arriving in Honolulu International Airport, I saw more of the typical Hawai'i that had been portrayed in various media found on the Mainland—signs in English, palm trees swaying in the wind, bright sunny morning, beautiful Polynesian women on postcards, warm air, and the open-air walkway to the next terminal where I boarded my flight to Hawai'i Island. In Honolulu I observed more imagery with a significant amount of spoken and written Hawaiian to portray an authentic Hawaiian, yet exotic, paradise experience than Hilo.[3]

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[1] "*Lit.*, sheltered bay. Also the name of the capital city in the Hawaiian Islands" (Pukui and Elbert 1986:79).

[2] In the Hawaiian Islands, the contiguous 48 states is often referred to as 'Mainland US', 'Mainland United States', or simply 'the Mainland'. I capitalize the 'm' in *Mainland* because in the Hawaiian Islands, it is used as a proper noun and refers to the contiguous United States.

[3] *Hilo,* the city and district, is named after the famous Polynesian navigator, Hilo, and is "perhaps mentioned in chant and saying more than any other single place in the Hawaiian Islands: see *'A'ala honua, hālau* 1, *holowa'a* 1, *ka'ele* 1, *kinai* 2, *laumeke, 'ōiwi* 2, *po'i* 1, *umauma, rain, storm.* All of these refer to rain and its rich symbolism. Lehua blossoms and Chief Hanakahi are also associated with Hilo. Exhausted by the many streams of Hilo, many hills, countless descents … cliffs of windward the upright cliffs of Hilo" (Ulukau 2009).

My interest in signs, language, and depictions of local culture lead me to see those first when I'm in transit. On this particular trip, I noticed a significantly smaller number of signs containing words from the English language in Hilo than I had seen in Honolulu. Before arriving to Hilo, I fully expected to see signage in English. Upon my arrival, the signs not in English were recognizably in the Hawaiian or Pidgin[4] languages. I became aware of two main visual aspects to my new locale: street signs and advertisements. The visual elements of the public environment of Hilo appeared in stark contrast to Honolulu because my initial imaginings of the Hawaiian Islands was that of Honolulu (described above). Many of the visual elements in the public environment of Hilo seemed to contain more genuine uses of Hawaiian or Pidgin. Suddenly, I felt I was in a foreign country. Some time after my arrival on Hawai'i Island, I began hearing a different language through one of my class projects in a course delivered by Professor Suzanne Romaine called "Pidgins and Creoles of the Pacific" and learned that the Hawaiian Islands were once a recognized sovereign country. In addition to the linguistic aspects of Hilo, shortly after my arrival I learned about traditional Hawaiian lifestyles, their contemporary use, and saw them practiced every day in Hilo Bay. Lastly, through my linguistics and Hawaiian language courses, Hawaiian culture became an integral part of my studies and everyday activities.

The contrast between the visual infrastructures of *Hilo* and *Honolulu*, which I observed on my first trip to the Hawaiian Islands from May 2005-2006, became increasingly more apparent to me in the public environment of O'ahu and Hawai'i Island. My initial observations raised questions for me about the complex and often conflicting imaginings of Hawaiianness and Hawaiian identity that divide residents and visitors in the Hawaiian Islands. The Hawaiian and Pidgin languages in the public environment were the first inspiration for my research. As I considered focusing my attention on signs with writing, it seemed unjustified to exclude other visual elements in the public

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[4] Pidgin is the local name for Hawai'i Creole English in the Hawaiian Islands

environment. Other visual imagery could express Hawaiianness. I pondered the words of my undergraduate professor Christopher Reichl (2008), "[b]ecause the earliest of all human writing is pictographic, then at least for the earliest of writing, writing is a representation of things, not speech" (118). If writing is at the base of representing things, I argue that this 'pictographic', non-speech element of written communication has not disappeared but instead remains common in the age of marketing and advertising. Additionally, I argue that visual elements of the public environment are symbolic of things, tell stories about a society, and hold symbolic meaning within a particular society. Kathe Managan describes visual elements of the public environment, or aspects of the built environment, the natural landscape as well as other visual elements, as "imbued with social meaning that must be understood by gaining a greater comprehension of the culture, history, and ideology of a given community" (letter to author, April 1, 2010). Twentieth century Western philosopher José Ortega y Gasset said: "Tell me the landscape in which you live, and I will tell you who you are." This was the premise of my research, at least, until I learned more about Hawaiian history. Initially, the visual elements in the public environment of Hawai'i Island seemed Hawaiian to me; however, as I came to find out, not everything portrayed as Hawaiian in the public environment of Hawai'i Island is *really* perceived as Hawaiian. My quest to understand Hawaiianness grew more complex.

1.1 Diminishing Hawaiianness in the Hawaiian Islands

A central concern of Hawaiians in the Hawaiian Islands is the diminishing Hawaiianness of the public environment. I discussed this topic with Anne Keala Kelly[5] on June 3, 2009, noting that "[it] is this matter of us being erased, paved over to such an extent that we can't even see ourselves in the landscape. We are erased and removed and outnumbered and undone." As the built environment expands, the landscape becomes more varied in cultural imagery, a continuing legacy of colonialism. Through expansion

[5] Anne Keala Kelly is an independent Hawaiian filmmaker and journalist. Her recent work, Noho Hewa, is a documentary on the wrongful occupation of the Hawaiian Islands (*Noho Hewa* means 'wrongful occupation'.

development, parts of the Hawaiian landscape have become obstructed. Examples include a Wal-mart built on top of Hawaiian burial sites (Kelly 2009), observatories and telescopes built on top of *Mauna Kea,*[6] and tourism commodifying aspects of Hawaiian culture. In this thesis I focus on the forces that influence the variety and often conflicting perceptions of Hawaiianness. This study is based on 12 months of observations from 2005-2006 that provided background and led me to my research questions which I addressed during five weeks of fieldwork from December 2008-February 2009. My study combines a focus on the visual elements of the public environment with the history of the Hawaiian Islands to answer the questions: (1) What visual elements of the public environment, if any, do residents of Hawai'i Island see as "Hawaiian"? (2) Why are such visual elements of the public environment regarded as "Hawaiian"? (3) What, if anything, is common to the visual elements of the public environment selected as Hawaiian? (4) If there are patterns of Hawaiian – Hawai'i resident divergence in terms of what is considered "Hawaiian," what is the source?

Context of Hawai'i

Since the beginning of the plantation era in the mid 19th century, the land of Hawai'i has been constantly under pressure for development (discussed in Chapter 2). Then, since 1903, "Hawai'i has been systematically promoted as a tourist destination" (Goss 1993:663). Since this time, many Hawaiians held jobs in the tourism industry. Each year since 2007, more than 6 million tourists have visited the Hawaiian Islands (State of Hawaii 2009). The population of the Hawaiian Islands is about 1.2 million people including around 70,000 indigenous Hawaiians or other Pacific Islanders (United States 2010).[7] In the last 100 years, the Hawaiian Islands have experienced

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[6] *Mauna Kea* is short for *Mauna O Wākea* or *Ka Mauna A Kea*, meaning 'Wākea's Mountain' (Na Maka o ka Aina 2010). Lit. *Mauna Kea* means 'white mountain' (Pukui and Elbert 1986:242) for it's snowcapped summit during the winter months. In Hawaiian mythology, *Mauna Kea* is the site where Wākea met his wife Pāpānuihanaumoku and is the embodiment of the *piko* (umbilical cord, blood relatives) that connects Hawaiians with their history and ancestors. Wākea 'sky father' and Pāpānuihanaumoku, the goddess of earth, created the Hawaiian Islands and people (Participants A'ala and Leilani; Beckwith 2008:271).

[7] The United States Census and State of Hawai'i census accounts for indigenous Hawaiians and Pacific Islanders as the same group.

increased tourism, including accessibility to formerly remote places and the number of arrivals each year. As tourism has increased, *tourism knowledge* has come to displace "*signified knowledge*" (Halualani 2002:174).[8] Halualani writes: "... a new form of tourism emerges in the postmodern era, one that no longer needs the faces of natives. Instead, there are tours of the first Waikīkī hotel, the famous tourist shipliners, and the history of tourism itself" (Halualani 2002:xxxv).

After the United States Marines backed foreign residents in the overthrow of the Hawaiian Kingdom in 1893, the Provisional Government,[9] comprised of foreign residents of the Hawaiian Islands who assumed authority in place of the Hawaiian Monarch, "ceded" the lands over to the United States; however, because the overthrow was recorded as illegal by United States President Grover Cleveland in 1893 and re-affirmed by President William Clinton in 1993, the United States' jurisdiction (also known as the State of Hawaii) of the lands is not accepted by many Hawaiians and are thus referred to as "Ceded" Lands to indicate that the lands were taken without agreement. "Ceded" (the word *ceded,* capitalized and with quotation marks) refers to the process by which the United States gained control of the Hawaiian lands set aside for Hawaiians during the annexation of the Hawaiian Islands and signifies that the lands given by the Provisional Government to the United States were, and still are, stolen because the Hawaiian Queen Lili'uokalani did not give them to the United States (see p. 26, 50, 118). Many Hawaiians see these lands as stolen because a Provisional Government acted in the place of, but not on behalf of, Hawaiian Queen Lili'uokalani. President Cleveland (1994; United States Congress 1893) determined through the Blount Report (Chapter 2) that the Hawaiian Queen never directly relinquished her position but was instead forced even without a fire

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[8] Signified knowledge refers to the meaning and significance of a cultural object for tourists, residents, and Hawaiians. Halualani (2002:174) gives an example of a tourist buying a plastic Kū figure because it looked Hawaiian but the tourist did not know about the roles of Kū in Hawaiian culture because the figurine did not include the cultural information. Instead, the figurine is created, a tourist purchases the figurine because it *looks* Hawaiian, but the tourist may never really know why it looks Hawaiian.

[9] 'Provisional Government' refers to the group of people in the Hawaiian Islands responsible for the illegal overthrow of the Hawaiian Kingdom in 1893.

Lili'uokalani. President Cleveland (1994; United States Congress 1893) determined through the Blount Report (Chapter 2) that the Hawaiian Queen never directly relinquished her position but was instead forced even without a fire shot or a sword drawn from anyone in the Hawaiian Kingdom.[10] Thus, I use "Ceded" Lands to refer to these events. After statehood in 1959, the State of Hawaii continues to develop "Ceded" Lands, or the 1.8 million acres of Crown Lands set aside by King Kamehameha III during the Great Māhele (the Great Division).[11]

Approximately 10 years after statehood, many Hawaiians soon found their farmlands in Kalama Valley and homes on Sand Island and on Makua Beach painted with eviction notices to make way for housing developments, an industrial park, and a tourist park (Laenui 2000:50). The places all have in common that they are "Ceded" Lands, or stolen lands:

> It was felt that because the dredged reef material that was used to create Sand Island was Ceded Lands, the Sand Island residents should draw attention to section (5f.) of the US statute that created Hawai'i as the 50th State. Section 5 f. directs the State to use some revenue generated from Ceded Lands for the betterment of Hawaiians. [Chan and Sharma 2009: 1].

The dredged reef material used to create Sand Island comes from the Keehi Lagoon area (Keany 2004). On Mokauea Island in May 1975, near Sand Island, the State of Hawai'i "hired a contractor to burn down the fishermen's makeshift houses in an attempt to permanently evict them" (Keany 2004:1). By January 1979, "Sand Island had become home to a rapidly growing settlement of fishermen and other locals, who claimed it as their birthright, much to the dismay of the state" (Keany 2004:1). In January 1979, eviction notices marked the residences of fishermen and *Locals*. The state did not agree with their argument that the lands belonged to the Hawaiians and "bulldozed about 135

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[10] The Blount Report refers U.S. Commissioner James Henderson Blount, appointed by President Cleveland, and his investigation of the events of January 17, 1893. This report is known as the Blount Report (Trask 1999; Merry 1997).

[11] The Great Māhele refers to the redistribution of Hawaiian lands enacted by Kamehameha III in 1848 (discussed in Chapter 2).

Hawaiian cultural items through tourism, a deeper and more threatening meaning is associated with changes in the visual landscape.

This study attempts to gain a deeper understanding of Hawaiians' and Hawai'i residents' perceptions of Hawaiianness as represented through visual elements of the public environment on Hawai'i Island. My research comes at a time when representations of Hawaiianness need to be re-evaluated because President Clinton signed Public Law 103-150 (also known as the Apology Resolution). This was a pivotal point for Hawaiians and Hawai'i residents because the resolution publicly acknowledged the illegal actions committed by the United States in 1893 and recognized Hawaiians without reference to the blood quantum rule. Much of the academic work on Hawaiian culture and identity is rooted in Hawaiian sovereignty, seized Crown and Governmental lands, and related events such as Hawaiian language endangerment and revitalization, and prohibition of Hawaiian cultural activities by missionaries. Some studies focused on identifying Hawaiians and diasporic Hawaiians (Halualani 2002), cultural revitalization in the 1990s (Marshall 2006), and the cultural effects of the 50 percent blood quantum requirement (Kauanui 2008).[12] In my research, the aim was to ask Hawaiians and Hawai'i residents on Hawai'i Island to imagine and describe 'Hawaiianness' as it is represented in and by visual elements of the public environment of Hawai'i Island.

1.2 Research Design

Before beginning this research project, I conducted preliminary observations on Hawai'i Island by doing the following: (1) I acquired an internship and employment to learn about contemporary Hawaiian society, (2) participated in traditional, yet contemporary, Hawaiian activities, (3) inquired to my professors, activist groups, and residents encountered on trips to places on Hawai'i Island about Hawaiian sovereignty.

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[12] The Hawaiian Homes Commission Act of July 9, 1921 defined a person as "Hawaiian" if he or she had at least 50 percent Hawaiian blood. This rule is "enforced by the State Department of Hawaiian Home Lands (DHHL), by means of a process that requires the presentation of official and formal records of an individual's Hawaiian ancestors: birth, marriage, and death certificates, and census records" (Halualani 2002:xiv-xv).

Other observations included three visits to O'ahu, Kaua'i, and Maui, although I spent most of my time on Hawai'i Island at the University of Hawai'i Hilo.

As part of my education in linguistics at the University of Hawai'i in Hilo from 2005-2006, I was afforded the opportunity to conduct field studies on usages of Pidgin vocabulary, acquire some Hawaiian language, and learn about Hawaiian "ways" and culture. In addition, I enrolled in a Hawaiian language class each semester for two semesters. During fieldwork from 2005-2006, this enabled me to *talk story*[13] with residents on Hawai'i Island about the issues in which I was concerned and to gain a deeper understanding of Hawaiian culture as many Hawaiian words lead to a story or an infrequently heard history. Hawaiian vocabulary words made great elicitation devices, as I would strike up conversations on a whim. During these engagements, I focused on Hawaiians' and Hawai'i residents' understandings of Hawaiian culture, Hawaiianness, and Hawaiian identity as they paralleled to contemporary issues in the Hawaiian Islands. In 2005-2006, the main issues in Hawai'i's political arena were: the Akaka Bill, building new observatories on *Mauna Kea*, determining who can or cannot attend the Kamehameha Schools, and the Hawaiian Sovereignty Movement as a whole. At certain times of the year, specific events dedicated to Hawaiian culture occurred. One such event was the Merrie Monarch Festival and Ho'olaule'a (festival, celebration).[14] The Merrie Monarch Festival commemorates former Hawaiian King David Kalākaua for his support of revitalizing Hawaiian culture. The Ho'olaule'a usually occurs every fall and/or spring. This is a performing arts event dedicated to some of the best musicians of Hawai'i Island and takes places in downtown Hilo on Kamehameha Avenue. It is a popular venue for residents and college students alike.

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[13] *Talk story* is a phrase in Pidgin (Hawai'i Creole English) is a phrase in Hawai'i Creole English meaning "to have a conversation." It is a way to become comfortable and get to know a person or group. It is often more personal than 'chatting'.

[14] *Ho'o-* "is a very active former of causative/simulative" (Pukui and Elbert 198:80), "to transitivize the meaning of a base word or to indicate similarity" (xix). "It is treated as a prefix because it occurs before base words (80), such as *laule'a* (peace, happiness, friendship), and emphasizes the base word, thus *ho'olaule'a* means celebration, festival, gathering for a celebration (Pukui and Elbert 1986:196)

After I moved to Fairbanks, Alaska to pursue an advanced education in anthropology, I maintained contact with (1) the Hawaiian Kingdom organization, receiving updates on the political environment surrounding Hawaiians and the Hawaiian Islands, (2) my university system through a newsletter called *Mālamalama* 'the light of knowledge' regarding the progress of students and graduates and what they are doing to benefit society as well as including pieces of Hawaiian culture, and (3) my network of friends on Hawai'i Island. In late 2008 to early 2009, I returned to Hawai'i Island for five weeks of fieldwork on the role of visual elements of the public environment in residents' perceptions of Hawaiianness.

Through this variety of sources and resources, I observed a wide range of residents in the Hawaiian Islands, although mostly residents of Hawai'i Island, in order to contextualize my study; however, my results pertain only to Hawai'i Island within a historical context of all of the habitable Hawaiian Islands.

1.3 A Theoretical Framework for Researching Hawaiianness

A Geosemiotic Context and Need for Research

This study's theoretical framework is based on geosemiotics. Geosemiotics as defined by Scollon and Scollon (2003:2) "is the study of the social meaning of the material placement of signs and discourses and of our actions in the material world." Therefore, geosemiotics is the contextualization of material signs, including our actions and landscapes, in a specific location. Scollon and Scollon (2003) describe three main systems of geosemiotics: the interaction order, visual semiotics, and place semiotics. According to Scollon and Scollon (2003),

> [a]ny and all social actions take place at some intersection of the interaction order (a conversation, a meeting, a walk with a friend in a city park or square or in a shopping mall, a single reading of a newspaper in a café) of visual semiotics (the design, layout, and production of all the signs, pictures, books, newspapers, posters, and other images which are either being used by the interaction order or being ignored by them), and place semiotics (the built environment along with the 'natural' landscape within which the action takes place). [9-10].

Within this framework my primary interests are in the individual perceptions of the manufactured or constructed environment, the social meaning residents' derive from the visual elements present in the public environment of Hawai'i Island, whether manufactured or constructed symbols are deemed to be authentically or inauthentically Hawaiian, and if other non-tourist spaces are seen as Hawaiian as a form of resistance to the hegemonic construction of the Hawaiian Islands.

Semiotic Systems: From Language to Landscape

Debra Spitulnik (2001) commented that "... little has been said about the smaller, scattered pieces of formulaic language, for example, the public words of streets signs, graffiti, and political parties, or the popular extracts from radio, film, and the world of advertising" (99). Spitulnik (2001) was referring to linguistic intertextuality, or the relationships between such smaller and scattered pieces of formulaic language. She raises important questions—How are these smaller pieces of language perceived by viewers? What significance is given to the decoration, arrangement, and aesthetics in visual elements of the public environment such as advertisements, graffiti, film, and street signs accompanied by some pieces of language(s) in a specific locale?

Scollon and Scollon (2003:19) include 'natural' in their view of geosemiotics because "we should not be seduced by the word 'natural' into thinking that there is anywhere a world that is untouched by human meaning-making processes" (19); from the point of view of human action there is not such a world (Scollon and Scollon 2003). Land is natural without humans and their constructions, however, no landscape can be considered natural because it is not free from human constructions. Cultural meanings assigned to landscapes are human constructions and can be considered material and created and somewhat arbitrary, similar to that of language. All visual elements of the public environment—natural and non-natural alike—can be given meaning and thus become part of systems of signs. In the context of the Hawaiian landscape, as elsewhere, such systems are not neutral because they "operate as systems of social positioning and power relationship both at the level of interpersonal relationships and at the level of

struggles for hegemony among social groups in any society" (Scollon and Scollon 2003:7). Like a landscape, language cannot be devoid of social construction.

Shohamy (2006) argued "that the presence (or absence) of language displays in a public space communicates a message, intentional or not, conscious or not, that affects, manipulates or imposes *de facto* language policy and practice" (110). Shohamy (2006) raised the point that questions need to be asked regarding the real influence of language in the public space on language perception, choice, status and language practice (158). Shohamy (2006) refers mostly to language used by authorities, but nonetheless, the language used by authorities is seen as intentional, whether for indicating "importance, power, significance and relevance of certain languages or the irrelevance of others" (110); the language choice itself is symbolic and sends a message of who is in control. Daveluy and Ferguson (2009) argue that "among all the signs surrounding us, those regulated by government policies are of particular interest because they reflect wider public debates about language and the content of public signs" (84). If the language choice is symbolic and representative of wider public debates, then I ask, what is the influence of the Hawaiian language in the public space on individuals' perceptions of the status of Hawaiian people, and Hawaiian culture, or the overall status of the cultural group?

I argue that not only can the presence or absence of a language send a message about language policy and practice but the accompanying images with the pieces of language, or just the images alone, also send a message. The placement of images can likewise send a plethora of messages about the nature of the cultural group, their role in society, and in this case, who the Hawaiians are (even if it is commodified). I argue for an investigation of the social meaning of non-linguistic symbols placed in the public environment within the system of signs that includes linguistic symbols. Similar to Daveluy and Ferguson (2009), among the signs surrounding me in the Hawaiian Islands, those signs able to be seen in the public environment are of particular interest to me because they reflect government policies, individual and group choices (obviously steeped in government policies because people generally make their actions within

Hawai'i State law, such as business naming practices). In the following paragraphs, I will briefly illuminate the geosemiotics of tourism, *Local* identity, and government practice as described earlier in this chapter. Refer to Chapter Four and Five where fieldwork results exemplify the constructions of Hawaiianness and Hawaiian identity by tourism, *Locals,* and government policies that have permeated into contemporary Hawaiian and Hawai'i resident perceptions of Hawaiianness and Hawaiian identity.

An Analytical Framework for Researching Hawaiianness

This study's analytical framework combines qualitative methods of (1) researcher and participants' photographic observations, (2) photo-elicitations, and (3) semi-structured interviews for extracting the multiple perceptions of Hawaiianness that exist in the contemporary Hawaiian Islands. The design of this research is photograph-centered and based on (1) photographs taken by me and sorted in collaboration with Hawaiian residents of Hawai'i Island and (2) photographs taken by participants living on Hawai'i Island. Photography was central to each method. The methodology employed was designed not to impose too much structure on participant responses, but to allow the participant to share indigenous and culturally specific ways of knowing and understanding (Tuhiwai-Smith 2002) their visually encoded world.

1.4 Outline of Thesis Chapters

Chapter 2 explores the history of the Hawaiian Islands from the culture and society that existed pre-contact to the present, especially as it relates to the visual imagery that figured in this study. I trace transformations of Hawaiian culture and society, from the arrival of the first Polynesians to the Hawaiian Islands between 200 and 400 A.D. (Sakoda and Siegel 2003), the arrival of Westerners, the birth of the Hawaiian Kingdom, the illegal United States overthrow of the Hawaiian Kingdom, U.S. annexation, statehood, and post-statehood. This chapter introduces some of the cultural implications and elucidates the diminishing Hawaiianness of the Hawaiian landscape.

Chapter 3 discusses Hawaiianness and Hawaiian identity politics, examining three poignant influences on perceptions of Hawaiian identity throughout the 20th and 21st

statehood, and post-statehood. This chapter introduces some of the cultural implications and elucidates the diminishing Hawaiianness of the Hawaiian landscape.

Chapter 3 discusses Hawaiianness and Hawaiian identity politics, examining three poignant influences on perceptions of Hawaiian identity throughout the 20th and 21st centuries. I examine key players and driving forces in transforming perceptions of Hawaiianness and Hawaiian identity. This chapter elaborates on the context of my study, focusing on the images of Hawaiianness produced by tourism, the definition of Hawaiian by government, and the identity politics from which they have developed.

Chapter 4 details the methodology employed in my fieldwork, presents the visual elements of the public environment in the research photographs that are seen as Hawaiian or not seen as Hawaiian by residents on Hawai'i Island, and introduces the themes coded from the data. The data suggest that Hawaiians have a broad perception of Hawaiianness and that Hawai'i residents have a narrow perception of Hawaiianness.

Chapter 5 discusses the themes extracted from the data in Chapter 4 and offers an interpretation for participants' selections. I use ethnographic observations, recorded conversation data, photograph selections from each of the activities, and data from the semi-structured interviews to examine the visual elements of the public environment identified as "Hawaiian" or "not Hawaiian." In this chapter, I argue that broadness of the Hawaiians' selections is based on the role the object(s) play in constructions of contemporary Hawaiian identity as well as participants' lifestyles and that the narrowness of the Hawai'i residents' selections is related to both the public availability of the particular visual elements represented in the photographs and related knowledge about the visual elements.

Chapter 6 concludes with Hawaiians' and Hawai'i residents' image preferences, suggesting that Hawaiian selections sometimes have less to do with their immediate relationship to Hawaiianness and more to do with how the object in the image can restore and encourage social, visual, and cultural regrowth. Additionally, certain selections

Chapter 2: Transformation of a Hawaiian Kingdom

A central concern Hawaiians have for the contemporary Hawaiian Islands is what they perceive as the diminishing Hawaiianness of the visual elements in the public environment of the Hawaiian Islands. Changes in the Hawaiian public environment have resulted from political desires and pressures starting at least in 1778 and from tourism since at least 1900. This chapter is a brief introduction to ancient Hawaiian culture, the invasion of the Hawaiian Islands by Europeans and European-Americans. It concludes with the impact of this history on contemporary Hawaiian presence and representation in the Hawaiian Islands. The central concerns of this chapter are to (1) trace some of the changes in what are today considered signal features of Hawaiian culture from before contact with Euro-Americans through to after the United States annexed the Hawaiian Islands and (2) delineate the events in the Hawaiian Islands, from 1778 to 2009, related to some of these changes in the perceived diminishing Hawaiianness of the landscape. Firstly, the purpose of this research is to identify visual elements of the public environment that are seen as Hawaiian or not. Secondly, this research attempts to gain a deeper understanding of the meaning of some of the visual elements in the public environment of Hawai'i Island.

Many characteristics of Hawaiian culture have been transformed and even lost their meaning through the rapid changes in the Hawaiian Islands. The Hawaiian Islands have been a popular place for visitors, for many reasons, at least since the arrival of Captain James Cook in 1778[15]. Twelve years after Captain Cook arrived, the Hawaiian Kingdom was established in 1810. Many factors contributed to the creation of the Kingdom such as guns, foreign advice, and physical aid (Kuykendall 1965); and "the feudalistic character of Hawaiian political, economical, and social organization and the complete absence of distinct tribes with their intense divisive loyalties such as existed in New Zealand" (Kuykendall 1965:29). By 1820, missionaries arrived and the Hawaiian

[15] According to Silva (2004), Captain Cook was not the first white foreigner that arrived in the Hawaiian Islands, but his push of imperialism onto the Hawaiian Islands was the first to triumph (16-18).

Islands became a capitalization magnet for the sugarcane, whaling, and sandalwood industries. Throughout the 19th and 20th century, rulers of the Hawaiian Kingdom experienced threats of takeover from the Europeans and Americans. The Hawaiian Kings sought advice from their foreign residents as to how to gain international recognition for a sovereign Hawaiian Kingdom. The Hawaiian Kings were advised that they needed to civilize their Kingdom in order to gain western recognition. With the Hawaiian Islands as one of the island groups yet to be colonized, the British, French, and Americans scrambled to solidify their presence in the Pacific. They were able to have influence on the Hawaiian King by playing roles as the Kings' confidants and advisors; however, this resulted in pushing Hawaiians out of the ruling domains of the Hawaiian Islands. From the middle to latter parts of the 19th century, foreigners advised Hawaiian Kings to set up sugar plantations, and established Western law into a traditionally non-Western society. After the overthrow of the Hawaiian Kingdom in 1893, the benefits from advising the Hawaiian Kings regarding land privatization really paid off; as foreigners controlled much more of the land . Through waves of visitors, colonists, diseases, changes in governing, overthrow attempts and the eventual illegal overthrow in 1893, and lastly tourism, Hawaiians have been rapidly pushed out of the landscape of the Hawaiian Islands—visually, linguistically, culturally, and literally. First, let's understand the origins of the Hawaiian people and culture before the arrival of Captain Cook.

2.1 Pre-Contact Hawaiians

Genesis and Hawaiian Social Organization

Hawaiian and literary accounts of the genesis of the Hawaiian people usually begin with the chant, *He Kumulipo*, which is "the most important account of the origin of the cosmos" because "it was chanted shortly after the birth of Kalaninui'iamamao, son and heir of King Keawe" (Valeri 1985:4; Lili'uokalani 1978 in Valeri 1985:4). Kauanui (2008) points out that when Queen Lili'uokalani translated the Hawaiian text of *He Kumulipo,* she translated it as "The Kumulipo," not "A Kumulipo." A variety of accounts for Hawaiian origins exist within *He Kumulipo* (43), such as the story of Hulihonua and

for Hawaiian origins exist within *He Kumulipo* (43), such as the story of Hulihonua and Keakahulilani (Kamakau 1991:3 in Kauanui 2008:43). The most prominent account of Hawaiian genesis about which I learned during my fieldwork, however, is *He Kumulipo* of Wākea and Papahānaumoku. One of the main differences between the two accounts of Hawaiian genesis is in the type of relationship: Hulihonua and Keakahulilani were not incestuous while Wākea and Papahānaumoku were incestuous. Regardless of the variety of accounts of Hawaiian genesis, "Hawaiian identity is, in fact, derived from the Kumulipo, the great cosmogonic genealogy. Its essential lesson is that every aspect of the Hawaiian conception of the Hawaiian world is one indivisible lineage" (Kame'eleihiwa 1992:2). Kauanui (2008) reports that "[m]any Kānaka Maoli typically refer to both their lineage *and* kinship system as "geneaology" and use the term interchangeably with the Hawaiian term *mo 'okū 'auhau*" (37), which does not inherently carry blood quantum meanings.

Beckwith (1951) suggests *he Kumulipo* as a form of naming or celebration chant that establishes an *ali 'i*'s (chief) rank and personality (36). The presentation of the chant was a determining factor for the child's personality, rank, and overall outcome in life. This, of course, affected family members also. During the presentation of the chant, any linguistic error, a pause, mispronunciation, even taking a breath before closing the *Kumulipo* was considered a sign of bad luck (Beckwith 1951:36). However, to better understand the underpinnings of ancient Hawaiian society, one must first consult with text of the *Kumulipo* chant.

The Kumulipo Chant

The *Kumulipo* chant is best described as:

> a genealogical prayer chant linking the royal family to which it belonged not only to primary gods belonging to the whole people and worshiped in common with allied Polynesian groups, not only to deified chiefs born into the living world, the *Ao*, within the family line, but to the stars in the heavens and the plants and animals useful to life on earth, who must also be named within the chain of birth and their representatives in the spirit world thus be brought into the service of their children who live to carry on the line in the world of mankind. [Beckwith 1951:7].

The first half of the chant is about the genesis of animals, beginning with the fifth section until the seventh section. It is not until the eighth section of the *Kumulipo* chant that man appears (Valeri 1985); "[m]an's appearance marks the passage from the *Pō* ['night'] to the *Ao* ['day']period" (Valeri 1985:6). In the second half of the *Kumulipo* chant, "three myths of parenthood of mankind from the gods are blended (Beckwith 1951). The first myth is about La'ila'i, mother of gods and men "through her relations with god Kāne and man Ki'i" (Beckwith 1951:99). The second myth is about Haumea and Kanaloa (Beckwith 1951), "an encompassed form of Hina" (Valeri 1985:17) and "the god of the sea" (Valeri ibid.:351), respectively. The third myth is about Pāpā and Wākea (Beckwith 1951); this is the only myth told to me during 2005-2006 and 2009. In Hawaiian mythology, "[a]ll geneaologies go back to the original couple Wākea (the husband) and Pāpānuihanaumoku (the wife)" (Valeri 1985:169) and are the parents of the first *ali'i* called Hāloa II; Hāloa I died because of a premature birth (Valeri 1985). Haloa I was buried and a taro grew out of his body where Wākea and Pāpā buried him. They had a second child and her name was Ho'ohokuikalani (Valeri 1985) who Wākea later desires as a wife.

In order for Wākea to marry Ho'ohokuikalani, he must escape the sight of Pāpā, his wife (Valeri 1985). Under the consultation with the priest to be with Ho'ohokuikalani,

Wākea establishes the early beginnings of the *kapu*[16] (taboo) system by separating the sexes, the pure (men) and the unpure (women), "when they eat and when they menstruate or give birth" (Valeri 1985:169). Valeri (1985) describes the *kapu* system as "a whole system based on the opposition of the pure and impure, and is summarized by the follow proportion: pure : impure :: male : female :: male superior : male inferior" (128). Merry (2000) explains that "[b]y separating men's and women's eating into different houses, the 'aikapu prevented the "unclean" nature of women from defiling male sanctity" (60).[17] Wākea married Ho'ohokuikalani and she gives birth to Hāloa II; Hāloa II becomes the "ancestor of the *ali'i*" (Valeri 1985). Because deities gave birth to Hāloa, all *ali'i* were considered to have divine power called *mana*, and the ancient Hawaiians ruled based on this line of descent. Ancient Hawaiian society was organized based on a deity-man hierarchy. The hierarchy of the main and highest gods are Kū, Lono, Kāne, and Kanaloa (Valeri 1985) and the highest man necessarily corresponded to the highest deity and the most inferior man to the most inferior deity. Thus, the social organization of the ancient Hawaiian society. That is, since the gods represent the genesis of human species, then the deities rule the entire Hawaiian society (Valeri 1985). Because an individual's hierarchical status directed their sacrifice to a particular god, "one can sacrifice only to the gods that correspond to one's hierarchical position in society" (Valeri 1985:109). Thus, "sacrifice ensures that the hierarchy of gods is translated into a social hierarchy and reproduces it" (Valeri 1985:109).

The *Kumulipo* was chanted shortly after the birth of Kalaninui'iamamao, son of King Keawe (Valeri 1985; Lili'uokalani 1978 in Valeri 1985:4). From Kalaninui'iamamao came Kamehameha the Great, after three to four generations. For

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[16] The *kapu* system was governing based on taboos, for example, certain species were prohibited for women but not for men because it was their responsibility to neutralize particular species (Valeri 1985:120). *Kapu* refers to "taboo, prohibition; special privilege or exemption from ordinary taboo; sacredness; prohibited, forbidden; sacred, holy, consecrated" (Pukui and Elbert 1986:132). In the contemporary Hawaiian Islands, *kapu* may be used to indicate "no trespassing, keep out" (Pukui and Elbert 1986:132).

[17] '*Aikapu* means "to eat under taboo; to observe eating taboos" (Pukui and Elbert 1986:10).

ancient Hawaiians, bloodline tended to determine the next rulers. Before Kamehameha the Great assumed his title as King, the state of the islands was inter-island war (Kirch and Sahlins 1992); "[u]nity of the islands was secured by the imposition of Hawai'i Island chiefs, companions of Kamehameha's conquests, as governors over the several islands (except Kaua'i)" (Kirch and Sahlins 1992:2). Prior to Kamehameha's uniting of the islands, there was the *ali'i* system (Kelly 2004); each island had an *ali'i*, and nobles governing the commoners (Valeri 1985). After he united the islands, he became King of all the inhabited islands instead of just Hawai'i Island. The noble is one who can trace a genealogical relationship to the King" (Valeri 1985:157), but not all who can trace a relationship the King are nobles (Malo 1951 in Valeri 1985:373). Gods and *ali'i* are closely connected (Valeri 1985:152). Kamehameha's father conquered most of the eight islands. In a battle at Kealakekua Bay, Kamehameha became victorious, united the Hawaiian Islands under the Hawaiian Kingdom. The dynasty of Kamehameha extended until 1872 when Kamehameha V perished due to illness and did not name an heir.

Traditional Ways of Life

Canoeing, surfing, *hula* (Hawaiian style dancing used to tell a story), and *nā lei*[18] (Polynesian garland of flowers), contemporary icons of Hawaiian culture, are seen to have been elements of ancient Hawaiian culture that carried through to contemporary Hawaiian life. "Hawaiian myths refer to several migrations of gods to Hawai'i" (Emerson 2009:254); "tradition states that one such goddess, Pele, came by way of canoe" before the first group of Polynesian explorers arrived (Kāne 1996). The Polynesian explorers refer to the ethnic group known as the Hawaiians, *Kānaka Maoli*, and *Kānaka 'oiwi*. Like Pele, the first Polynesians to arrive in the Hawaiian Islands arrived in double-hulled canoes (Emerson 2009:354; Kāne 1998; Kāne 1996:6; Blaisdell and Mokuau 1994:50; Buck 1957). There were "canoe-building gods" (Beckwith 1951:222) in ancient Hawaiian society (Beckwith 1951). The *wa'a* were used primarily for fishing and transportation

[18] *Nā*, as in *nā lei*, is the plural indefinite article marker for nouns in the Hawaiian language.

(Valeri 1985). Because the early Hawaiians arrived by canoe, as did their deities, Hawaiian style canoeing was a large part of their transportation between the islands, and is an aspect to contemporary Hawaiian culture. Today, the tradition of canoe transport is represented and celebrated in canoeing competitions, sponsored through canoeing clubs and the University of Hawai'i. During 2005-2006 and 2009 fieldwork, these were a public spectacle visible from anywhere along the bayfront in Hilo.

Surfing was also a traditional Polynesian activity and enjoyed by *ali'i* and *maka'āinana* (commoners) alike in traditional Hawaiian society (Finney and Houston 1996); however, the sport later experienced a decline after the arrival of foreigners from trade and missionaries. Today, this activity thrives in the Hawaiian Islands, California, Mexico, Peru, Australia, to name a few. There are many surfing competitions around the world.

Additional symbols of contemporary Hawaiian culture have been the "slack-key" guitar (Linnekin 1983:242) and *'ukulele*[19] (four-stringed instrument in the guitar family) playing brought by Portuguese immigrants in the late 19th century (Emerson 2009) during the plantation era. Before the arrival of the Portuguese, hula was accompanied by gourds and coconuts, among other implements for making music. After their arrival, *ka 'ukulele* began accompanying *hula* in the late 19th century. *Hula* refers to a style of Hawaiian dance that tells a story and is usually accompanied by a particular chant, depending on the occasion, referred to as *he mele* (a song). Ancient and modern *hula* have often been accompanied with many *lei* (garland of flowers). There are two main types of Hawaiian *lei*. *Ka maile lei* is the traditional garland of flowers offered to Laka (Bird and Bird 1987); in Hawaiian mythology, Laka is "the protective goddess of the *hula*" (Valeri 1985:396). The *hula* dance in Hawaiian culture and the Hawaiian Islands has been developed in connection with the Pele deities (Beckwith 2008:40); the Pele

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[19] "*Lit.*, leaping flea, probably from the Hawaiian nickname of Edward Purvis, who was small and quick and who popularized the instrument brought to Hawai'i by the Portuguese in 1879" (Elbert and Knowlton 1957 in Elbert and Pukui 1986:366)

deities refer to Pele the volcano goddess, and her siblings. In Hawaiian mythology, Pele is the goddess of volcanoes, dance, and volcanic fire (Beckwith 2008); she is the ruler of the volcanoes and associated with the color red (Kāne 1996). Her home is located in the *Halema'uma'u*[20] crater of the *Kīlauea*[21] Caldera (Hawai'i Volcanoes National Park 2010; United States Geographical Survey 2009; Beckwith 2008). Her sisters are associated with cloud forms and her brothers are associated with the phenomena of thunderstorms and volcanic activities (Beckwith 2008). Through her "*'aumakua*, [or her] ancestral spirit, ... [Pele] may take an active role in the affairs of the living" (Kāne 1996:6). Based on legends of her brothers, sisters, and lovers, Pele's presence is abundant and flourishing on Hawai'i Island. Some of these legends will be recounted in Chapter five. The following section will delineate the events in the Hawaiian Islands after the arrival of Europeans leading up to the illegal overthrow of the Hawaiian Kingdom.

2.2 The Hawaiians and Europeans Meet

The first Polynesians arrived in the Hawaiian Islands between 200 and 400 A.D. (Sakoda and Siegel 2003). The first Europeans arrived with Captain James Cook in 1778. At the time of their arrival, the Hawaiian population was between 200,000 and one million Hawaiians (Blaisdell and Mokuau 1994:50; Sahlins 1985); the Hawaii Visitors and Convention Bureau reports 600,000 at the time of Captain Cook's arrival (2009). The Hawaiian Islands soon received more visitors because the islands were a stopover between the West and China during the fur trade from 1790 to 1810 and the sandalwood and whaling industries afterward (Kirch and Sahlins 1992). These events brought diseases and population decline to the Hawaiians (Sakoda & Siegel 2003:3); after 70 years of European and European-American contact, the Hawaiian population experienced at least a 75 percent decline (Schmitt 1968:18-24, 74 cited in Linnekin 1997:221). By

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[20] *Hale* means "house" in the Hawaiian language. *Ma'uma'u* is "the same as *'āma'uma'u*, ferns. Halema'uma'u (name of the pit at Kī-lau-ea Crater, *'āma'u* fern house" (Pukui and Elbert 1986:242). *'āma'u* refers to all species of and endemic genus of ferns (*Sadleria*), with trunk more or less evident" (Pukui and Elbert 1986:23).

[21] According to the National Park Service, *Kīlauea* means "rising smoke cloud" although around Hawai'i Island, I learned *Kīlauea* to mean "spewing" or "much spewing."

1810, the Hawaiian Islands had been unified under King Kamehameha the Great (van Dyke 2008:17). He ruled as an absolute monarch as did his successor Kamehameha II (Lee 1993:2).

According to Silverman (1982), there were three groups "active in imposing a Western judicial system on Hawaii in the first half of the 19th century" (48). These groups were women *ali'i* 'chiefs', American Protestant missionaries, and American lawyers. Kamehameha I's favorite wife, Queen Ka'ahumanu, was also very politically influential in allowing changes to come into traditional Hawaiian society. After her husband's death, she was the *kuhina nui* (prime minister), later assuming power as Queen Regent, to Kamehameha II, the son of Kamehameha I and Ka'ahumanu, and Kamehameha III Hawaiian (Silverman 1982:50). Women *ali'i* may have ignited the imposition of Westernism into their society (Silverman 1982:49); however, actions from the missionaries and lawyers, both taught the same principles of civil government, have had everlasting effects on contemporary Hawaiian culture and society in the Hawaiian Islands. The women pursued change in the "ritually mandated segregation of men and women in certain contexts" (Linnekin 1992:14), also known as the *kapu* (taboo) system. According to Linnekin (1992), women did not favor such gender politics and pursued abolishment of the *kapu* (taboo) system in favor of Christianity ruling the islands (Silverman 1982).

In 1820, American Protestant missionaries arrived and sought to change Hawaiian spirituality, suppressing chants and *hula* (Hale 1998; Silverman 1982). Some of the missionaries "became the confidants and advisers of the ruling chiefs" (Kirch and Sahlins 1992:5), and shortly after their arrival, the once flourishing sport of surfing went into decline, not to be revived until around the beginning of the 20th century (Finney and Houston 1996). The Missionaries found the Hawaiian language lacking proper names and many words the missionaries considered important, such as 'Jesus' and the seemingly

extensive use of *aloha*[22] for a variety of English words such as 'mercy', 'love', and 'charity' for example (Hale 1998). The missionaries' documented the Hawaiian language and brought literacy to the Hawaiians in their language. Shortly after the arrival of missionaries, the first sugar plantation was established by William Hooper in 1835 when he set out the plans for 12 acres for harvesting sugarcane (Alexander 1985). This production area came to be known as Koloa Plantation, although, there is evidence of sugar and molasses production by some Chinese people in Koloa, Kaua'i before 1835 (Alexander 1985). Plantation managers needed more laborers so they imported laborers from a large variety of countries such as China, Kiribati, Vanuatu, New Ireland, Papua New Guinea, Solomon Islands, Portuguese from Madeira and Azores Islands, Scandinavia, Germany, Japan, Philippines, Puerto Rico, Korea, Russia, and Spain (Sakoda and Siegel 2003); this created a language melting pot and encouraged the decline of the Hawaiian language and the birth of Hawai'i Creole English. Whereas, the population of Hawaiians in the Hawaiian Islands was around between 200,000 and one million when Captain Cook arrived (Hawaii Visitors and Convention Bureau 2009), the Hawaiian population was less than 100,000 by 1848 because of diseases brought by foreigners. By this time, Hawaiian was still one of the primary means of communication even with the influx of foreigners imported to work on sugar plantations in the Hawaiian Islands.

2.3 The Plantation Era and The Great Māhele of 1848

Kamehmeha III experienced foreign pressures to advance and govern in similar ways as other foreign rulers. The events alongside the sugar plantations, foreign pressures, missionaries-turned businessmen, brought about the idea of land ownership and resulted in the 1848 Great Māhele 'the Great Division' (Takaki 1983:17). Most notably the British entity attempted to overthrow the Hawaiian Kingdom (United States

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[22] *Alo* 'breath', 'life' and *ha* 'Front, face, presence', thus, *aloha* means presence of the breath of life.

2001) and the French invaded because of religious persecution against French nationals in the Hawaiian Islands (van Dyke 2008).

Sugar Plantations

The King owned the land in the Hawaiian Islands but with the missionaries determined to turn Hawaiians into farmers, Kamehameha III and Ladd & Company signed an agreement that leased 980 acres for sugar cane production for a price of $300 dollars per year for 50 years (Ladd & Company 2009). William Hooper "arranged, at first, with the chiefs for his laborers at two dollars per month for each man" (Alexander 1985:9); however, currency was scarce so William Hooper set up a system to pay 25 cents per man to the Hawaiian government and paid the workers with "Kaua[']i currency" which was made out of pasteboard script (Alexander 1985:9). They were only redeemable at the plantation store (Ladd & Company 2009). Workers paid once cent per day for housing as well as food, when they worked, and later medical assistance (Alexander 1985:9). The key difference between employees and managers was that managers received 600-800 dollars per year (Alexander 1985) whereas the employees were paid in company currency only useful on plantation grounds. Shortly following, missionaries-turned businessmen and other foreigners took an interest in the sugarcane industry and imported laborers from a variety of countries. More than 39,000 workers from China; approximately 2,000 from Kiribati, New Ireland, Papua New Guinea, and the Solomon Islands; at least 550 from Vanuatu; more than 23,000 Portuguese from Madeira and Azores Islands; 615 Scandinavians; 1,052 Germans; over 200,000 Japanese by 1924; over 100,000 from the Philippines; 5,203 Puerto Ricans; 7,843 from Korea, 3,000 from Russia, and 2,000 from Spain (Sakoda and Siegel 2003). The diversified labor force most likely helped discourage workers from organizing against plantation managers; a common language did not exist among the immigrant works nor did many of them (if any) speak Hawaiian. This language melting pot led to the birth of a pidgin, a form of a language used for communication between people sharing a common language, so as to communicate even if in small amounts. At the beginning of the plantation era,

indigenous Hawaiian people were not outnumbered by foreigners. And the Hawaiian language was still widely spoken; by 1861, there were 266 schools conducted in Hawaiian with over 8,000 students (Silva 2004:55). As the plantation era carried on, less and less Hawaiian language was spoken. Even Pidgin was becoming lexified more by English than Hawaiian words by the end of the plantation era in the 1930s. The indigenous Hawaiian population decreased because of diseases brought from visitors to the Hawaiian Islands with approximately 88,000 Hawaiians alive in 1848 (Sakoda and Siegel 2003). Diseases brought by foreigners and the increasing number of foreign residents encouraged the decline in Hawaiian language speakers. Hawaiians became outnumbered by the foreign investors in population. Additionally, Hawaiian ownership of resources and land in the Hawaiian Islands decreased.

The Great Māhele

Kamehameha the Great and Kamehameha II ruled as absolute monarchs under the *kapu* system in the recently unified Hawaiian Islands. Kamehameha III brought much change to the Hawaiian Islands by initiating the dismantling of the *kapu* system and instituting a constitutional monarchy (Lee 1993:2). The most dramatic changes that occurred during the reign of Kamehameha III resulted from the Great Māhele 'the Great Division' as advised by Lee (Merry 2000:93). Before Kamehameha III, the monarchy owned all of the land and usage of it was tolerated; "... people acquired use and access rights from the chiefs through a rank hierarchy of tenancy relationships (Linnekin 1997:221). As compensation to the chiefs for using their land, "commoners gave the chief tributary gifts of food and domestic necessities at ritually prescribed times and were expected to work for the chiefs when commanded" (Linnekin 1997:221). By 1848, American missionaries encouraged the King to institute the concept of private ownership of land. This was a precursor to the Great Māhele (Merry 2000; Lee 1993; Takaki 1983). Commoners owning their land was believed, most especially by Lee, that it would "designate something that they owned as a way of enhancing their independence, self-respect, and desire to work the land" (Silverman 1982:61); however, Europeans and

Americans could not see the purpose of trading in the Hawaiian Islands if private ownership of the land they tended was not recognized.

The Great Māhele (the Great Division) resulted in 1848 from a process started in 1840 when King Kamehameha III promulgated a dual legal system through the second constitution of the Hawaiian Kingdom titled "*Ke Kumukānāwai a me nā Kānāwai o ko Hawai'i Pae 'Āina, Honolulu*[23], 1840 (Kamehameha Schools 2004). This constitution mostly codified existing government practice and structure (Lee 1993), as well as initiated power to the people for voting, established governing offices for each island, and naming Christianity an authority. The legal system changed with the help of William Little Lee who arrived in 1846; per the persuasion from Kamehameha III, he remained in Honolulu and became a judge in the court (Merry 2000:3). Under Lee's advisement, the King and chiefs engaged in transforming the Hawaiian legal and governance systems to create a what would be perceived in the West to be a *civilized* nation and to gain American and European acknowledgement of the Hawaiian Kingdom's independence (Merry 2000). Hawaiians became alarmed at the number of foreigners in the islands and the dependence the islands had on foreigners—legal advice and sugarcane industry. Despite complaints from the Hawaiian public regarding the increased number of foreigners in the Hawaiian government (Kamakau 1961 in Merry 2000; Kame'eleihiwa 1992:192; Kuykendall 1965:257), Kamehameha III "felt he had no choice" but to carry out the changes to the legal and governing system; Britain, France, and the United States pressured the King to give special treatment to their resident citizens and threatened a takeover of the Hawaiian Kingdom (Merry 2000). Linnekin (1990) notes that as "emigration came to be perceived as a problem in the 1840s, foreign residents and missionaries pressed for the establishment of individual land titles, arguing that private property would result in pride of ownership and would motivate commoners to remain on the land" (198). The King used the *Māhele* as protection against any possible future

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[23] The English equivalent title is "the 1840 Constitution of the Hawaiian Kingdom" (van Dyke 2008; Kamehameha Schools 2004).

conquests of the Hawaiian Islands by separating his land from the chiefs' and commoners' forever (Norgren and Nanda 2006); this denoted the Crown Lands and Governmental Lands.

Lee established a new legal system and elected the chief justice and appointed president of the Board of Commissioners to Quiet Land Titles by 1847 (Merry 2000:3). The Board of Commissioners to Quiet Land Titles refers to a board that determined through investigation who could have land in the Hawaiian Islands (Linnekin 1992:xix). It provided "final ascertainment or rejection of all claims of private individuals, whether natives or foreigners, to any landed property acquired" (Kuykendall 1965:179). According to Linnekin's (1987) statistical analysis of the Great Māhele, American and European foreigners were least likely to be rejected in their land claims in comparison to commoners.

The Great Māhele was later amended with the Kuleana Act of 1850 to allow foreigners to purchase and lease land, as advised to Kamehameha III from his foreign advisors (Takaki 1983:17). This laid the groundwork to benefit the foreign advisors and for the eventual majority transference of private land from Hawaiians to foreigners.[24] Because the King and chiefs desired riches, such as "clothing, silver, service, liquor, boats, [and] furnishings" (Linnekin 1997:220), they acquired debt quickly and needed a way to pay off their debt to the foreigners (Norgren and Nanda 2006:25). Also, Europeans and Euro-Americans were familiar with the Americanized Hawaiian legal system but many of the commoners were unfamiliar with the new private land ownership amendment (Takaki 1983). Many commoners "could not afford the survey fees to make their claims; still others were afraid of reprisals from their konohiki[25] if they

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[24] Three out of four acres were owned by foreigners by 1890 (Takaki 1983).

[25] *Konohiki* refers to "the headman of an *ahupua'a* land division under the chief" (Pukui and Elbert 1986:166). *Ahupua'a* refers to "a land division usually extending from the uplands to the sea, so called because the boundary was marked by a heap (ahu) of stones surmounted by an image of a pig (pua'a), or because a pig or other tribute was laid on the altar as tax to the chief" (Pukui and Elbert 1986:9).

filed" (Norgren and Nanda 2006:25). As a result, much of the land became owned by American foreigners.

2.4 Protection from Annexation

In 1854, Kamehameha IV ascended the thrown unhappy with the 1850 amendment to the Great Māhele of 1848 because it restricted royal power (Lee 1993). He feared annexation from the United States and tried to propose a reciprocation treaty with the United States and tripartite treaty with the United States and Britain via Lee in 1855 (Merry 2000:90); he was unsuccessful because his reign ended shortly after the death of his child. Kamehameha V, however, "refused to take an oath and set out revision of that document as a major goal" (Lee 1993) to protect the Crown Lands; Kamehameha V believed literacy and property qualifications should be in place for voters (Lee 1993:4). Kamehameha V's abolishment of universal suffrage was not popular but did not change during the reign of Lunalilo because Kamehameha V died before changes could be made; Lunalilo was the first Hawaiian monarch voted into the position of King by the legislature as described in the 1864 Constitution.

Succeeding King Lunalilo, a descendant of Kamehmeha I, was King Kalākaua. During King Kalākaua's reign, the Hawaiian Kingdom and the United States signed the Reciprocity Treaty of 1875, which is the same type of treaty the preceding Hawaiian Kings attempted to accomplish, to help the Hawaiian economy and protect Hawaiian land. This treaty established a free trade agreement between the two sovereign nations on certain agricultural items and labor (Merry 2000). This glamorous treaty greatly benefitted the American citizens operating their sugar plantations in the Hawaiian Islands but not the Hawaiians. King Kalākaua developed this treaty to protect the Hawaiian Kingdom's sovereignty since many threats from foreigners to take over the Hawaiian Islands had been exclaimed previous to his reign. King Kalākaua was not popular to begin with, especially with the foreign businessmen residing in the Hawaiian Islands, but he became more popular among Hawaiians for his revival of *hula*, surfing, and bringing the *'ukulele* into popular Hawaiian culture.

Events Leading up to the Overthrow of the Hawaiian Kingdom in 1893

King Kalākaua was less popular among the foreigners, which was also the majority of the population in the islands, because he spent large sums of money on erecting a statue of Kamehameha the Great as well as 'Iolani Palace during a time of instability. The Reciprocity Treaty of 1875 was about to expire in 1883 and "[t]he *haole* sugar growers in Hawai'i wanted a more permanent relationship that would guarantee exporting their sugar to the United States tax free. Annexation as a Territory of the United States would guarantee it" (Dudley and Agard 2002:315). The disgruntled foreigners, in a secret group in the Reform Cabinet called the Hawaiian League, developed the Bayonet Constitution (Dudley and Agard 2002; Lee 1993) which was drafted by Lorrin A. Thurston;[26] King Kalākaua was forced to sign it (McGregor 2002:339; Kuykendall 1967:347). The Bayonet Constitution of 1887 minimized the requirements for foreigners to take a position in the Hawaiian government and removed much of the King's executive power (Dudley and Agard 2002:315; McGregor 2002:339; Kuykendall 1967:369). This made the King similar to that of the sovereign of Great Britain (Kuykendall 1967:367). The voting requirements may have excluded some Hawaiians but mostly the new requirements allowed more foreigners to vote and hold governing positions, pushing Hawaiians into almost political inferiority (Kuykendall 1967:370). After the Bayonet Constitution, Hawaiians tried to change the constitution or replace King Kalākaua with Lili'uokalani but were unable to succeed. After King Kalākaua died in 1891, his sister Lili'uokalani succeeded him and pursued restoration of monarchial powers (Lee 1993). Again, power held by the monarch was unpopular among the resident aliens. In order to end the monarchy, a group of resident aliens decided to overthrow the Hawaiian

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[26] Thurston led the overthrow through drafting the Bayonet Constitution. Thurston, also an advocate of preserving Hawai'i's volcanoes had a lava tube named after him in Hawai'i Volcanoes National Park on Hawai'i Island. Hawaiians were not abusing the land so preservation was not needed from Hawaiians but instead from the colonists because they were making plantations on every acre of land possible. Secondly, volcanoes can be disastrous and a plantation is not likely to take place on fresh lava – the soils do not have the capacity to cultivate various plantation crops. The lava tube in Hawai'i Volcanoes National Park is named after Thurston for his idea of preserving Hawai'i's volcanoes but it is not commonly known that he was a leader in the overthrow of the Hawaiian Kingdom.

monarch. In 1893, Queen Lili'uokalani faced a United States Marine supported abdication from her throne (Silva 2004; Trask 1999; Cleveland 1994; United States Congress 1993; United States Congress 1893). In an effort to reverse the overthrow, the Hawaiian Queen did not submit her complaint with the Provisional Government but instead with the United States Government. As a result, President Cleveland appointed U.S. Commissioner James Henderson Blount to investigate the events of January 17, 1893. President Cleveland found the report to illuminate that Queen Lili'uokalani did not willingly give up her throne nor was there any act of war committed from her Kingdom:

> While naturally sympathizing with every effort to establish a republican form of government, it has been the settled policy of the United States to concede to people of foreign countries the same freedom and independence in the management of their domestic affairs that we have always claimed for ourselves; and it has been our practice to recognize revolutionary governments as soon as it became apparent that they were supported by the people. [1994:133, United States Congress 1893:455].
>
> ....
>
> The lawful Government of Hawai'i was overthrown without the drawing of a sword or the firing of a shot by a process every step of which, it may safely be asserted, is directly traceable to and dependent for its success upon the agency of the United States acting through its diplomatic and naval representatives...And finally, but for the lawless occupation of Honolulu under false pretexts by the United States forces, and but for minister Stevens's recognition of the provisional government when the United States forces were its sole support and constituted its only military strength, the Queen and her Government would never have yielded to the provisional government, even for a time and for the sole purpose of submitting her case to the enlightened justice of the United States. [Cleveland 1994:133-134; United States Congress 1893:455].

Therefore, the revolutionary government, also called the Provisional Government, was not supported by the citizens of the Hawaiian Kingdom and thus, should not have been in effect. Additionally, the Hawaiian Queen and her government would not have yielded if the United States military forces had not forced her into such a position. Through the agency of the United States representatives, a lawless landing in the Hawaiian Islands, and without an act of war from any member of the Hawaiian Kingdom, the Hawaiian

Queen was forced to yield, resulting in an illegal occupation of the Hawaiian Islands by the United States. As a result, it is held by Hawaiians and their supporters that the crown lands of the Hawaiian monarchy are still in effect. Thus, it is asserted by some Hawaiians and Hawai'i residents that the Hawaiian Islands are still illegally occupied by the United States of America and the Hawaiian Kingdom continues to exist. The Reinstated Hawaiian Government operates under this premise.

President Cleveland's term ended before the changes could be made to restore the Hawaiian Kingdom. Instead, United States President William McKinley supported the annexation of the Hawaiian Islands (Trask 1999) to have a strategic position in the Pacific during the Spanish-American War. In 1898, the United States annexed the Hawaiian Islands. By 1903, tourism was rampant and engulfed the Hawaiian Islands (Goss 1993). In 1959, Hawai'i became part of the United States of America as the 50th state.

2.5 Cultural Implications and Diminishing Hawaiianness

Language

By 1900, the Hawaiian language was banned from government organizations and was only allowed to return as a foreign language (Hale 1998; Benham 1998). One of the results that came from waves of colonists is that the Hawaiian Kingdom soon found it had many longtime visitors, business investors, and sugar plantations. After the illegal overthrow of the Hawaiian Kingdom in 1893 (Silva 2004; Trask 1999; Cleveland 1994; United States Congress 1993; United States Congress 1893), Act 57, sec. 30 of the 1896 Laws of the Republic of Hawai'i "mandated free public education in English-speaking schools throughout the Republic" (Benham 1998). It was not until 1978 that the state of Hawai'i made Hawaiian an official language, in addition to the English language, of the Hawaiian Islands. Many Hawaiians already lived outside of the islands and made communication in Hawaiian difficult but there needed to be a way to connect Hawaiians said Keiki Kawai'a'ea (Warschauer and Donaghy 1997:353); by 1995, Keiki Kawai'a'ea translated the First Class Bulletin Board System software in the Hawaiian language to use

in the Hawaiian language immersion schools, also known as Leokī (Warschauer and Donaghy 1997:353).

Established by Princess Bernice Pauahi Bishop, a descendant of the Kamehameha family, the Kamehameha Schools focus on Hawaiian language and cultural revitalization. By the request of Princess Bernice Pauahi Bishop's will, the admissions office prefers those who have Hawaiian *koko* (blood), have been orphaned, or are indigent (Kamehameha Schools 2009). Today in the Hawaiian Islands, programs conducted in the Hawaiian language extend to a bachelor, master, and doctoral program in Hawaiian language and literature at the University of Hawai'i in Hilo on Hawai'i Island. Other efforts for Hawaiian language revitalization come from the Hawai'i Tourism Authority's Strategic Plan 2005-2015 (HTSP 2005); they use Hawaiian language as part of their policy to stimulate Hawaiian cultural growth. Additionally, the State of Hawai'i mandates street names be Hawaiian words. The County of Hawaii Planning Department's "Procedures for Establishing Street Names" states:

> An individual property owner, community organization or group, shall submit a list of suggested street names with a corresponding map showing all of the roadways to be named. All suggested street names must be Hawaiian words with the appropriate spelling and meaning as per the Hawaiian Dictionary (Pukui and Elbert 1971) and/or other appropriate sources. Suggested street names shall not exceed (10) letters (including glottal & macrons). [2009].

One of the places Hawaiian culture can be located in the Hawaiian Islands are street signs. Although, this appears more as part of the Hawai'i Tourism Authority's agenda to stimulate interest in tourists to travel to the Hawaiian Islands. Many of the street signs on Hawai'i Island, however, are not entirely in Hawaiian, containing *avenue* or *street* after the Hawaiian word. Investigating the **perceived** Hawaiianness of street signs with Hawaiian language on them will be one aspect to my research.

Land

Foreigners already owned three quarters of the land in the Hawaiian Islands before the United States annexation of 1898 (Merry 2000). After statehood in 1959, the

State of Hawai'i continued to develop "Ceded" Lands, or Crown Lands from the Hawaiian Kingdom that the Provisional Government "gave" to the United States during annexation. Many changes occurred but some of the more recent and relevant examples to my research come from the Department of Land and Natural Resources and Hawai'i County. Two specific examples physically and spiritually altered perceptions of the Hawaiian landscape dramatically for Hawaiians: (1) the Hawai'i County Resource Center regarding the County of Hawai'i's Puna Community Development Plan (2008) and (2) the State of Hawai'i's Department of Land and Natural Resource Management such as on the University of Hawai'i Management Area established in 1968 on General Lease No. 2-4191 (State of Hawai'i 2009:3-1). These plans in place in the contemporary Hawaiian Islands involve community development such as designing plans to develop a public park or parking lot "to bring communities together" (Hawai'i County Resource Center 2009) or use the land as a "scientific complex" (Mauna Kea Comprehensive Management Plan 2009). The latter example deeply disturbs Hawaiian spirituality and has been referred to as "eye sores" by my participants.

In Hawaiian mythology, *Mauna Kea* is the site where Wākea met his wife Pāpānuihanaumoku and is the embodiment of the *piko*[27] (umbilical cord, blood relatives) that connects Hawaiians with their history and ancestors. Wākea 'sky father' and Pāpānuihanaumoku, (earth mother), created the Hawaiian Islands and people (Participants A'ala and Leilani; Beckwith 2008:271; Valeri 1985:80). In contemporary Hawai'i Island, a large number of observatories have been built atop *Mauna Kea*. During 2005-2006, my internship with Pan-STARRS (Panoramic Survey Telescope and Rapid Response System) involved meetings with community members as well as Group 70 which resulted in proponents for the new telescope portraying the observatories as modern Hawaiian culture since Hawaiians navigated by the stars to arrive in the islands. This perception is not widely shared among Hawaiians because they consider the site on

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[27] *Piko* is the Hawaiian word for "belly button" or "navel." Figuratively is means "blood relative" (Pukui and Elbert 1986:328). Leilani described *piko* as "the center of life in Hawaiian culture."

top of *Mauna Kea* as sacred and an important part of their culture (Mauna Kea Comprehensive Management Plan 2009:i).

Tourism and Hawai'i Island

Since 1994, the State of Hawai'i Department of Business, Economic Development, and Tourism (DBEDT) shows an increase from 6 million visitors (State of Hawaii 2002) to more than 7.4 million in 2007 (State of Hawaii 2008). The population of the Hawaiian Islands is more than 1.2 million (State of Hawaii 2009) of which 21.8 percent were Hawaiians or other Pacific Islander in 2008 (State of Hawaii 2008). Hawai'i Island, the largest island in the Hawaiian Island chain, consists of at least 175,784 residents (State of Hawaii 2008) and receives the third largest number of visitors of the six main islands (State of Hawaii 2007:16). This island falls significantly behind O'ahu and Maui (Table 2.1, respectively).

Table 2.1 Summary of Visitor Characteristics: 2008 vs. 2007 (Arrivals by Air)

	2008	2007	% Change
Total Visitors	6,713,436	7,496,820	-10.4%
ISLANDS VISITED			
O'ahu	4,193,685	4,694,750	-10.70%
Maui County	2,129,042	2,522,043	-15.60%
Maui	2,075,800	2,463,595	-15.70%
Molokai'i	68,883	83,163	-17.20%
Lana'i	80,867	100,350	-19.40%
Kaua'i	1,030,647	1,299,045	-20.70%
Hawai'i Island	1,321,277	1,622,359	-18.60%
Hilo	503,449	726,892	-30.70%
Kona	1,100,555	1,350,401	-18.50%
Source: State of Hawai'i (2008)			

In my experience in visiting each of the islands, motivations for visitors to O'ahu, Maui, Kaua'i and Hawai'i Island were diverse and affected each island differently. All of the islands sell symbols of traditional Hawaiian culture in the forms of figurines and postcards.

On the way out of the terminal, passengers are greeted with a variety of shops selling Hawai'i, not necessarily Hawaiian, symbols such as flip flops, *lei*s, Hawaiian god or tiki figurines, even grass skirts and coconut tops. The bathroom signs are first in English and Hawaiian underneath the English. When a passenger makes a purchase, the sales person concludes the transaction by saying *mahalo* (thank you). Restaurants incorporate the same usage of Hawaiian words into their repertoire. Within the Honolulu area, specifically Waikīkī and Ala Moana shopping center, this is a very common practice. As my foreign travel companion put it, "there was rarely a Hawaiian in these tourist spaces." Outside of Honolulu, with the exception of Dole Plantation, the use of Hawaiian words for the purposes of tourism was less common the further away from Honolulu we drove. During a second observation trip to O'ahu, I saw on the Maile Sky Hotel's channel, advertisements for snorkeling, *luau*s, and *hula* dancing embrace the appearance of Hawaiian but the meaning of the fish, *luau*s, and *hula* was not revealed and seemed forgotten. The books in the Bishop Museum mostly regarded the roles of outstanding Hawaiians or Hawaiian activities. If there was a book on the history of the Hawaiian Islands post-Captain Cook's arrival, it was not in plain sight. This was also true for bookstores I visited on Hawai'i Island (see section 2.6 for discussion of books).

On the Big Island, car dealerships use Hawaiian language but obviously not for tourists but for everyone in the islands. A laundromat in Hilo also uses Hawaiian language. Hawaiians and Hawai'i residents tend to embrace the Hawaiian language and culture by learning the meanings of the Hawaiian street names, and disseminating Pele Stories and respect for the land (by not taking shells and rocks or littering, for example). Some residents use the same Hawaiian greetings as on O'ahu. Downtown Hilo are shops for the tourists who visit from cruise lines; they contain figurines of Hawaiian gods or tikis, but not much more becomes known about them by the visitors. These figurines can also be found in Wal-mart. Hilo contrasts starkly, however, with the dry side of the island—the so-called "Kona side."

"Kona side" is home to *the* Ironman race, which occurs in October and hundreds of athletes and support members come to Kona to participate. Most of the race takes place along Queen Ka'ahumanu highway (locally known as Queen K. highway). Along Queen K. Highway, new golf courses are visible as are new hotels. Naturally, the island is volcanic and being the newest, small growth has taken place on the lava rock, but of course sod does not grow from lava rock. The lava fields are plowed to make way for golf courses and bright green sod is brought in and placed at each hole. In the past, Kona had a small airport for inter island flights but now Delta and Alaska Airlines fly directly to Kona instead of going through Honolulu as before. Kona is beginning to look like O'ahu in that typical Hawaiian symbols and icons have been painted on a downtown wall. Kona has also become more populated since I lived on Hawai'i Island from 2005-2006 because Kona is the dry side while Hilo receives rain almost daily. Most recently, Sports Authority and Vitamin Shoppe chain stores were built in Kona

Since the arrival of Europeans and Euro-Americans to the Hawaiian Islands, Hawaiians have become outnumbered and neglected, despite their resistance from the start. Subsequently, Hawaiians fight for their indigenous rights and their rights as human beings. Members of the United States government neglect Hawaiians and Hawaiian culture in their federal definition of a Hawaiian, such as the 50 percent rule. Visitors and residents alike have been and continue to be very attracted to Hawaiian culture and many work to revitalize the language and culture, but building on the islands often results in bulldozing a Hawaiian spot, such as a *heiau*[28] (burial site) or building a gated community around Hawaiian archaeological sites (Kelly 2009). Thus, only residents of the gated community can visit the heritage sites. Additionally, residents after annexation and descendants of plantation workers under the Hawaiian Kingdom attempt to claim "Hawaiian" for tuition waivers. This claim then complicates the platforms of the Hawaiian Sovereignty Movement. In the following chapter, details of how these events

[28] *Heiau* "refers to a pre-Christian place of worship, shrine; some *heiau* were elaborately constructed stone platforms, others simple earth terraces. There are several types" (Pukui and Elbert 64:1986).

Missionaries kick-started the foreigners' infiltration into the Hawaiian system by pushing Kamehameha III to sign the first land lease for a sugar plantation and the induction of Christianity as a governing influence. One of the results post-1860 was that foreigners could purchase land in the Hawaiian Islands. Another result of post-1860 was that foreigners occupied much of the judicial system and other positions of power: "the *ali'i nui* (big or grand chief, ruling chief) considered Westerners to be knowledgeable in the workings of government and so the *ali'i* often appointed them to positions of power within the Kingdom" (Silva 2004:45). There were two school systems in the Hawaiian Islands. One school privilege pupils by preparing them for political positions and conducted in the English language (Silva 2004). The other school was specifically for turning Hawaiians into laborers and conducted in Hawaiian (Silva 2004). Hawaiians were hardly in the position to resist at the legal and educational levels; as the legal system comprised foreigners, *not* Hawaiians, and schools for Hawaiians did not privilege them. Both Kamehameha IV and Kamehameha V recognized the problems that placed Hawaiians under the foreigners and tried to resist *haole* (foreign) control. While the Crown was still in charge, Kamehameha IV resisted by demoting foreigners but still he experienced threats to Hawaiian sovereignty.

The sugar planters put pressure on Kamehameha IV to help them with duty-free sugar to the United States and cheap labor (Silva 2004). This threatened Hawaiian sovereignty because annexation was the most obvious solution to duty-free sugar; cheap labor either meant Hawaiians as "impoverished wage labors" (Silva 2004:47) or outnumbering the Hawaiians by importing more foreigners to work in the sugar plantations (Silva 2004). Additionally with the Civil War of 1861 on the Mainland, the demand for sugar in the south decreased and the need to make and save money became more demanding. Of course, with the missionaries still driving the governing system of the Kingdom, resistance became more difficult since "for forty years [they] controlled the power of the printed word in Hawai'i" (Silva 2004:55). Despite missionary control, Hawaiians revolted and resisted colonial pressures through a Hawaiian newspaper called

Ka Hoku o ka Pakipika (The Star of the Pacific) (Silva 2004:55). The missionaries restrained traditional Hawaiian practices such as *hula* but Hawaiians used the newspaper to reproduce knowledge about Hawaiian practices "so they could be communicated among the Kanaka Maoli" (Silva 2004:83). Also, Hawaiians used the newspaper as a space for Hawaiians to resist their domestication as well as translate international news into Hawaiian (Silva 2004). The paper brought Hawaiians together by creating and uniting Hawaiian national identity. One of the editors was David Kalākaua (Silva 2004:86), who is known for revitalizing traditional Hawaiian practices. Hawaiian resistance to colonial oppression continued into the 20th and continues in the 21st centuries through activism, writing, and education.

Books available for purchase in the Hilo International Airport and the University of Hawai'i Hilo bookstore did not obviously include writers on Hawaiian Sovereignty, Hawaiian politics, or how the Hawaiian Islands became the 50th state in the United States. Basically Books in downtown Hilo, however, provides a wider variety of accounts of Hawaiian culture and history. Some books can be found in Wal-mart in the Hawaiian theme section, but very few are about the history of the Hawaiian Islands, foreign involvement or how Hawai'i became the 50th state of the United States; however, Hawaii's Story by Hawaii's Queen is available. There was one such book at the Hilo Botanical Gardens depicting the day the United States annexed the Hawaiian Islands; there was a sketch that showed Hawaiians smiling and waving small American flags but Hawaiians protested annexation. The people who supported annexation were the foreign residents, but because they were in the Hawaiian Islands, it has been portrayed (by the State of Hawaii or part of a hegemonic discourse about the history of Hawai'i) as Hawaiians wanting annexation. (Refer to Chapter 2 for discussion on foreign majority). This is the history the state does not wish to share, only a timeless culture that hosts millions of tourists each year who try to escape to something completely different.

Visual elements in this thesis are seen as part of discourses about Hawaiian history and culture that are present or absent to the extent that those in power allow them

to be. The question is, what stories do the visual elements of the public environment of Hawai'i Island tell the residents and the visitors? Certain images such as the variety of books present in the bookstores discussed in the above paragraphs, or the re-portrayal of Annexation Day in Hawai'i, emerge as the dominant discourse about the history of the Hawaiian Islands and come to the front in souvenir sections for tourists; however, the histories retold by Hawaiians is very different. Counter-hegemonic discourses are present to the extent that Hawaiians talk with each other, conduct personal research to find out what really happened, and when asked, share their researched knowledge with others. Much of the counter-hegemonic discourse comes from knowing how to read the visual elements in the public environment. One such instance occurs every year on January 18th since 1893, or what is known as the day the Hawaiian Queen was illegally overthrown. What Hawaiians and Hawai'i residents see depends on what they have encountered in the past and the present and what they imagine for the future.

Chapter 3: Hawaiianness and Hawaiian Identity Politics

Everywhere I go, I am always faced with a plethora of signs—street signs, advertisements, landscapes, and activities; upon seeing these signs, I ponder what they mean, what their designer wants me to know about the place in which I am, and why. Scollon and Scollon (2003) "see humans in the physical world as bundles of histories – of language, of discourses, and experiences, of social and political performances, as juggling multiple social roles and performances" (16). Humans are social actors and their actions are signs expressing, largely unconsciously, "genetic, social, and momentary dispositions which are never possible to fully occlude behind those socially constructed performances" (Scollon and Scollon 2003:16). I contend that visual elements created by humans, including the spelling of a word, the language choice used in the signs, locations of structures or statues, to land left undeveloped, are informed by social dispositions which have meaningful patterns and that reflect wider debates, planning committees, and power struggles. These same signs can portray or encourage imaginings about Hawaiian people in a particular area of the Hawaiian Islands, usually varying island to island. In the Hawaiian Islands I observed language, advertisements, landscapes, and activities such as surfing, fishing, and canoeing marked as Hawaiian in the public environment. It could be said that a public environment embedded with cultural constructions or images found in advertisements are symbolic (or maybe semiotic) because they are representations of social, political, and cultural conditions based on wider debates, planning committees, and power struggles.

Chapter 2 discussed how foreigners came to hold key positions in the Hawaiian Kingdom and the effects of such positioning on Hawaiian people, language, culture, and land. In this chapter I will discuss three key forces driving transformations in perceptions of Hawaiianness and Hawaiian identity. Among the influences in the Hawaiian Islands post-overthrow, tourism, government, and immigrants stand out as having most dramatically influenced perceptions of Hawaiianness and definitions of anything "Hawaiian" in the last 110 years. There are several key figures within these institutions

who have attempted to create the image of Hawaiianness, not merely the institutions and businesses in and of themselves. This chapter is concerned with (1) the variety of perceptions of Hawaiianness and Hawaiian identities constructed by Hawaiian tourism, immigrants, and U.S. government, (2) the implications of these constructions that have permeated into Hawaiian and Hawai'i resident perceptions of Hawaiianness and Hawaiian identity, and (3) the importance of this study in a context of geosemiotics, or the study of social meaning of signs in particular geographical contexts.

3.1 Tourism: Hawaiianness, Identity, and "The Hawaiian Vacation"

As noted in Chapter 2, the Hawaiian Islands have been marketed as a tourist destination since 1903 (Goss 1993:663). After the demand for sugar declined around the time of World War II, tourism began to play a dominant role in Hawai'i's economy (Linnekin 1997). At the beginning of the 20th century, the appeal to visit the Hawaiian Islands was "... a romanticized Hawaiian culture. Even in the early 1900s, tourists were greeted with flower leis, ukulele serenaders, and hula troupes" (Linnekin 1997:225). Since the Hawaiians had been replaced with immigrant workers in the agricultural sector of the Hawaiian Islands, Hawaiians tried to make a living off of tourism items (Linnekin 1997:225). Items such as leis, 'ukuleles, and hula troupes are continually perceived as symbols of Hawaiian culture and identity in the contemporary Hawaiian Islands (Linnekin 1997). This, of course, was dusted with capitalism by preying foreign capitalists and

> the visitor industry was taken over by large tour companies, and representations of Hawaiian culture had become routinized, formulaic, and cheapened. Every one of the thousands of tourists arriving by jet could expect to experience the lei greeting, the Hawaiian warrior in red loincloth and ersatz feather helmet at the airport, incantations of '*aloha*', the hula show, and the obligatory luau. [Linnekin 1997:225].

Initially, Hawaiians tried to make a living off of their cultural resources before the arrival of tour companies, but these practices were soon converted to large-scale operations. Although some jobs may have been created for Hawaiians to support the authenticity of

the tourists' experience with the activities and shows presented to tourists, the commodification, practices, and representations of Hawaiian culture became inauthentic. Smith (2003) suggests the inevitability of loss of authenticity and exploitation from mass tourism as Linnekin has described.

In the 1950s, the advertised appeal of visiting the Hawaiian Islands was "the tropical island variety: scenery, beaches, and sun" (Linnekin 1997:225); however, this triad could be found in places closer to home, and cheaper (Linnekin 1997). Anderson (1995 in Smith 2003) argues that Hawaii is the tropical place that "most closely conforms to the notion of paradise"(205), referring to white sandy beaches, swaying palm trees, and consistent sunshine. For Mainlanders and the Japanese, the dominant social and capitalist characters in the islands at this time and in the 21st century, the appeal of the islands was that they were foreign enough for adventure, "reasonably priced[,] and Americans do not need a passport" (Linnekin 1997:225; Smith 2003).

By the 1980s and 1990s, tourism needed an angle in which to lure more travelers to the Hawaiian Islands: "[m]arketing and hotel design have emphasized local history and have attempted to present a more 'authentic' Hawaiian culture" (Linnekin 1997:225). As Linnekin (1997) discussed, the shift to a more "authentic" tourist experience was prompted by the desire to change from attracting a low-budget clientele to a clientele willing to spend more money. The Honolulu and Hilo airports and many hotels have "open-air" walk-ways or lobbies; Hilo International Airport was open-air from the time I walked out of the plane, exiting the gate and terminal, to waiting for a cab and Honolulu's airport has walkways in between the terminals and palm trees are whispering in the wind. The Outrigger Keauhou Resort in Kona, on Hawai'i Island, is open-air except for the bedrooms. On an interview trip to Kahalu'u beach, a research participant point out that a *heiau* on the right and on the left of the Outrigger Keauhou Resort can be visited and that there was some available information regarding the sites that is publicly available. The

left *heiau*[29] (pre-Christian shrine) is in the process of re-restoration, this time, according to traditional Hawaiian ways, to return the site and the *heiau* itself to look as it did. Part of tourism in the Hawaiian Islands has been focused on providing an educational experience; tourism decreased in the 1990s, leading the tourist industry to turn to marketing the Hawaiian vacation "as an opportunity for personal growth and learning rather than a purely hedonistic experience" (Linnekin 1997:226). As a result, centers for tourists such as hotels, airports, parks, and other public spaces invested in preserving and reproducing Hawaiian culture and history began to present a learning experience in the 1990s and the trend flows into the 21st century. For example, in the Outrigger Keauhou Resort in Kona, a traditional Hawaiian canoe can be found displayed in the lobby. While the reproduction of Hawaiian culture and history is positive and commendable, "in this context Hawaiian culture is also a marketing vehicle whereby the hotel portrays itself as a guardian of tradition" even though tourism stands as one of the more destructive forces against the Hawaiian Islands, Hawaiian people, and other residents (Wood 1999:92; Linnekin 1997:226). Constant building on O'ahu has prevented freshwater from flowing down to the ocean to create brackish water where things grow for fish to eat. Brackish water is a natural part of the Hawaiian Islands' ecosystem. If it is not there, fish do not feed there and access to this food source requires one to have a boat to go further out to fish (Kelly 2009). The more people visit or move to the islands, the higher the demand for tourist amenities increases, such as new hotels. Such structures use the fresh water and deplete the amount of fresh water that reaches the ocean, which in turn depletes subsistence resources for Hawaiians. Contemporary tourism in the Hawaiian Islands promotes a multicultural aspect about the islands to encourage people with all kinds of backgrounds from all places to come visit, thus, increasing the demand for new hotels, for example.

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[29] *Heiau* refers to a "pre-Christian place of worship, shrine; some *heiau* were elaborately constructed stone platforms, others simple earth terraces. Many are preserved today. A *heiau* is a high place of worship" (Ulukau 2009; Pukui and Elbert 1986:64).

Tourism in the Hawaiian Islands attempts to attract both tourists and residents through promoting an image of multiculturalism, so everyone in the Hawaiian Islands feels they belong there. The state's image as a welcoming 'multicultural environment' is also promoted through the state motto, "the Aloha State" (Halualani 2002; ; "the Islands' ethnic diversity is a major selling point" (Linnekin 1997:226). Therefore, marketing in the islands has not been restricted to Hawaiian culture; the tourism industry in the Hawaiian Islands also markets the multicultural aspect of the Hawaiian Islands in order to welcome everyone to visit (Halualani 2002; Linnekin 1997), which includes non-residents and *Locals*, or descendants of immigrant workers brought to the islands during the plantation era (Halualani 2002). For example, Maui Nui Visitors Bureau sponsors a website, www.visitmaui.com, advertising "Discover your Maui" (2009), offering that Maui can be for everyone or to the liking of everyone, suggesting that Maui can be modified to fit everyone's needs. In this process, the Hawaiian Islands becomes everything to everyone. This cooperation acts to mute resistance to the perception of the Hawaiian Islands as open to tourists from the outside. Undoubtedly, many different cultural groups reside in the Hawaiian Islands, but hyper-emphasized multiculturalness is an identity of post-contact, not pre-contact. The State of Hawaii asserts that "ethnic groups retain their uniqueness while living together cooperatively, in a spirit of aloha" (Linnekin 1997:227). Linnekin (1997) proposes that the façade of Aloha Spirit most likely stems from the outnumbering of Hawaiians with immigrant laborers during the plantation era and the plantations' managers prevention of worker alliances by ensuring variety and inability to communicate through a common language (discussed in Chapter 2):

> Hawai'i's relative peacefulness was founded on decisive power disparities in the plantation colony: Hawaiians had been dispossessed and outnumbered, Asian immigrants were barred from full citizenship, and the plantation structure set up formidable barriers to interethnic alliances (Linnekin 1997:227).

The peacefulness in Hawai'i is more a result of spreading the population thin by adding in other cultural groups and perpetuating Hawaii State's ideology, adapted from Hawaiian culture; however, Hawaii State propagates "The Spirit of Aloha," or "Aloha Spirit" to encourage peaceful cohabitation and passivity (Halualani 2002). It is the State of Hawai'i's attempt to communicate with Hawaiians but also connect Hawaiians and non-Hawaiians to create passivity; when Hawaiians try to voice the injustices they have incurred, they become scolded by Hawai'i residents and visitors that their behavior is un-Hawaiian.

3.2 Hawai'i State Ideology and Contemporary Tourism

The Hawaiian Islands are popularly associated with words such as tropical, paradise, leis, swaying palm trees, Hawaiian canoeing, *luau*s, *hula*, *aloha*, volcanoes, *Honolulu*, and *Maui*; *hula, aloha,* and *luau.* Some of the words have been adopted From Hawaiian into English and lack proper Hawaiian equivalent definitions in English. The Oxford English Dictionary (1989), defines *hula* as "an Hawaiian dance, with six basic steps, which portrays through symbolic and imitative gestures natural phenomena, sports, and historical or mythological subjects" (1). It defines "aloha" as "welcome', 'greetings', 'farewell'" and describes the word as "from old Hawaii." "Luau" is defined as "a party or feast with Hawaiian food and usually accompanied by Hawaiian entertainment." Most of these words are associated also with Hawaiian identity but without proper signified knowledge of such subjects in Hawaiian culture. Such subjects have become reifications in that complex practices and concepts have been simplified or over-simplified and objectified. English definitions lack specificity about subjects such as *hula.* "Hula" is not just a dance performed by women, it is also performed by men. The hula dance comes from the Hawaiian god *Laka* and is performed to tell a story. (Refer to Chapter 2 for discussion of *hula*). An elder explained to me at a viewing of a documentary film called "Noho Hewa" by Anne Keala Kelly during my fieldwork in 2009 that "*aloha*" is not just a greeting, it is a feeling, it is having the breath of life inside one's self and sharing it with another when greeting them. Hā is transferred upon touching foreheads and breathing.

with another when greeting them. Hā is transferred upon touching foreheads and breathing. One cannot have *aloha* if they do not have hā inside of themselves. Yet, the State of Hawai'i and local government leaders "consistently make the solemn pronouncements about the need to preserve and enhance the Spirit of Aloha"(Kanahele 2002:195). The meaning of *aloha* is not understood by its Hawaiian meaning but instead adapted to be synonymous with *multiculturalism* and used as a marketing tool to encourage passivity among the residents. Hawaiians, "are constantly reminded that Hawai'i is officially the "Aloha State" (Kanahele 2002:195). The compound phrase "Aloha State" and state identified multiculturalism ideology set the stage for Hawaiian exclusion as Hawaiians seek self-definition, determination, and sovereignty (see section 3.3 below).

In the Hawaiian Islands, most visitors only see the surface of imagined, commodified, and objectified perceptions of Hawaiian culture on visual elements such as posters, advertisements, souvenirs, t-shirts, and the 'touristscaped' (Appadurai 1996) areas such as Honolulu and Kona. These imagined perceptions include "the requisite hula girl and her sexualized body, the native male surfer, the happy *'ukulele*-playing Hawaiian who greets you as you walk by, and the famed *Aloha* spirit, "the notion that Hawai'i and Hawaiians are natural benevolent, generous, and willing to share everything Hawaiian: native residency, experience, artifacts, and identity" (Halualani 2002:xiii-xiv). Many tourists can recognize Hawaiianness but often do not understand why something is Hawaiian:

> The couple selected the "most Hawaiian-looking" souvenir to evidence their trip; indeed they were right about its Hawaiianness. But, in a deeply situated context, the plastic Kuka'ilimoku couldn't be severed from its confrontational spirit of Hawaiianness... In the moneyed exchange, however, the translation had been lost and drained. [Halualani 2002:174].

Often, visitors to the Hawaiian Islands do not understand the cultural significance of street names, figurines, or indigenous plants among other aspects of their visit.

knowledge about the object is not signified to the person engaging it. For example, a tourist visits Hawai'i Volcanoes National Park and learns of Pele – that she is the volcano goddess. What the tourist does not learn is that Pele's volcanic activities are related to various relationships with her brothers and sisters as well as her lovers. The story of Pele does not stop at being the volcano goddess but instead continues into other facets of Hawaiian culture.

Variation from Island to Island

Visual elements of the public environment marked as Hawaiian in Honolulu were stark in contrast to the visual elements of the public environment marked as Hawaiian in Hilo; the use of Hawaiian language in Honolulu was obviously for tourists because it appeared in the airports, on the hotels' channel whereas on the Big Island, it seemed more for the residents because it appeared in everyday settings like the laundromat, car advertisements, grocery stores, and food establishments. A more recent development in Hawaiian tourism has been the advertisement of island uniqueness. For example, the Big Island Visitors Bureau sponsors www.bigisland.org where Hawai'i Island is advertised as "The Big Island" and "Hawai'i's Island of Adventure" (2009). This site also advertises "ecotourism" and "sustainable travel on the island of Hawai'i" (2009). At www.gohawaii.com, sponsored by Hawaii Visitors and Convention Bureau, each island is advertised based on tourist demographics. Hawai'i i Island is "Hawai'i's Big Island isn't just big, it's still growing," referring to the continuous flow of *Kīlauea* in Hawai'i Volcanoes National Park. Maui is advertised a "Drive above the clouds," referring to *Haleakalā* (house used by the sun) (Ulukau 2009).[30] O'ahu is advertised using the words "The People of Hawaii would like to share their islands with you," referring to tourist mecca around Waikīkī and Ala Moana. This area is often avoided by residents mainly because of the traffic and large number of tourists. Lana'i is advertised with the phrase

[30] According to Ulukau (2009), *Haleakalā* refers to the "National park (established in 1961), volcano, peak, ranch, and visitor center, East Maui; ... Lit., house [used] by the sun (the demigod Māui was believed to have lassoed the sun here in order to lengthen the day, and permit his mother, Hina, to dry her tape).

"The People of Hawaii would like to share their islands with you," referring to tourist mecca around Waikīkī and Ala Moana. This area is often avoided by residents mainly because of the traffic and large number of tourists. Lana'i is advertised with the phrase "Visit Lanai and you'll discover an idyllic romantic setting." Moloka'i is advertised as providing "Serene Landscapes. Unspoiled Coastlines. Untamed Wilderness." Kaua'i is advertised with the question "How can so much beauty be found in one place?," referring to the *Nā Pali* Coast and the nature that can be seen via tours. Kaua'i has a lot of tours, for example helicopters and ziplining, because (1) no road circumvents the island and (2) most places are inaccessible because a paved road does not exist that allows tourist vehicles. To see anything on this island costs money, unless one travels by foot and on the coastline. These are the six islands that allow visitors without a pass or invitation, unlike Ni'ihau where a formal invitation is required for visiting the island as it is owned by the Robinson Family. Neighboring Kaua'i is Ni'ihau, advertised as "the forbidden island" (Aloha-Hawaii 2004). Visits to Kaua'i are often supervised by businesses based on Kaua'i Island. This island is owned by Keith Robinson's family, heirs of the Robinson Family who purchased the island in 1864 under the Hawaiian Kingdom, and only allows visitors with special permission (Star Bulletin 1997). His family keeps as much of the outside world from interfering in the affairs of Ni'ihau to preserve Hawaiian language, culture, and land: "the Niihau people clearly understand that the less the outside world knows about our property, the less trouble we and they will have with theft, vandalism, trespassing and destructive meddling" (Robinson 1997 in Star Bulletin 1997).

The State, Tourism, and Residents

Tourism in the Hawaiian Islands, Linnekin (1997) argues, "is primarily controlled by the businesses and secondly the government: "the state-funded Hawaii Visitors Bureau promotes Hawaii in general to the nation and the world, but specific initiatives and marketing decisions are largely in the hands of entrepreneurs and Japanese or mainland-based corporations" (218-219). Only through promotion does the state have control by "positioning the product" (Linnekin 1997:219). Linnekin (1997) argues "[e]ven in

Hawaii, where the legislature allocates millions of dollars annually to the state's tourist promotion agency, tourism cannot be said to be state controlled" (218). I suggest the Hawaii Tourism Authority's positioning of the tourist product is one of the ways the state controls tourism by being a driving force in transforming perceptions of Hawaiianness, Hawaiian identity, Hawaiian culture internationally, and introducing some of these perceptions into Hawaiian and *Local* lifestyles. Businesses in the Hawaiian Islands do not discriminate, "[they] will target local consumers as well as tourists and will develop products that local people find attractive" (Linnekin 1997:219). Scholars such as Linnekin (1982, 1990, 1997), MacCannell (1984), Picard (1990), Volkman (1982, 1990), Wood (1993) and Wood and Deppen (1994), observing the long-term development of tourism in developing nations, have argued that tourism subtly but profoundly impacts self-perception, such as viewing tourism as part of Hawaiianness, as some residents reported (discussed in Chapter 4 and Chapter 5). Smith (2003) argues "Hawaiians have been traditionally marginalised in society, and like many indigenous groups they tend to suffer from high levels of economic deprivation and unemployment" (47), which according to industry is supposed to be the opposite result from bringing tourism into developing areas. Linnekin (1997) argues that "interaction with touristic representations, which are promoted by states for economic reason, causes people to reevaluate their customs and to reconceptualize their group identity" (216). Linnekin (1997) describes the American "tourist gaze" (Volkman 1990:91) as a "vision of naturalized ethnicity and objectified culture ... [and] others argue that the "tourist gaze" in effect presents local people with a distorted mirror for viewing their own lifeways" (Linnekin 1997:216). It is not uncommon for residents to view their locale as tropical paradise, just as it is advertised.

3.3 Immigrants' Descendants and Local Identity

Who knew the effects plantation immigrants would have on Hawaiian identity in the 19th and 20th centuries? The sugar plantations began in 1835 and consisted of many different people with many different languages: workers from China, Kiribati, Vanuatu,

New Ireland, Papua New Guinea, Solomon Islands, Portuguese from Madeira and Azores Islands, Scandinavia, Germany, Japan, Philippines, Puerto Rico, Korea, Russia, and Spain (Sakoda and Siegel 2003). The arrival of these working-class foreign laborers for the sugar plantations in the Hawaiian Islands between 1835 until 1930s changed two major arenas: language and perceptions of Hawaiian identity. The linguistic landscape changed from primarily Hawaiian in 1835 to mostly Pidgin and English and some Hawaiian by the 21st century; however, residents of Ni'ihau speak Hawaiian first and English second and there was a revitalization of Hawaiian language that began during the 1990s. My participants often reported Pidgin as being Hawaiian even as the language is lexified by multiple languages.

There are debates over who is truly a "native" of the Hawaiian Islands, rooted in one's length of residency or how the person or group arrived in the islands (Halualani 2002). *Haoles* (Caucasian, foreigner) born in the Islands or living in the islands for an extended period of time, such as 10 years, sometimes consider themselves natives to the Hawaiian Islands. Meanwhile descendants from the workers imported during the plantation era consider themselves native to the Hawaiian Islands, also known as *Locals*. *Local* identity is most frequently associated with multiculturalism; *local* culture absorbs most groups represented in Hawai'i and mostly stems from the 1970s when Hawaiians and descendents of the plantation era combined in protest against the development, such as hotel complexes, golf courses, and subdivisions, for example (Kauanui 2008:30). Recall from earlier in this chapter that *Locals* generally emphasized protecting the natural environment from overgrowth and overbuilding from foreigners.

3.4 Hawaiian Homestead, and Hawaiians According to the U.S. Government

Protecting Hawaiian homesteads was always a top priority for each Hawaiian Monarch; however, as discussed in Chapter Two, under the Hawaiian Kingdom, Kamehameha III along with his foreign advisors implemented the Great Māhele in 1848 and amended it with the Kuleana Act of 1850, allowing foreigners to purchase land in the Hawaiian Islands; the Hawaiian King wanted to protect crown and governmental lands

from possible future conquests and foreigners wanted the land leased to them to become privatized. This section will briefly outline the events related to land and will discuss the blood quantum identifying Hawaiians and the cultural and social implications for Hawaiians.

The Crown and Governmental Lands from 1848-1959

Upon the illegal overthrow of the Hawaiian Queen Lili'uokalani in 1893, a scramble to gain control in the islands occurred. President Cleveland and later President Clinton through Public Law 103-150 recognized the overthrow as an act of war after (United States Congress 1893; United States Congress 1993) an investigation performed by James Henderson Blount; however, no pressure was applied from either former President to restore the Kingdom. To the Provisional Government of 1893, also known as the annexationists, the leading position for control of the islands was open. On 4 July, 1894, the Provisional Government took over and created the Republic of Hawai'i with Sanford B. Dole acting as President (Kauanui 2008:28). The new government seized about 1.8 million acres of the crown and governmental lands set aside by Kamehameha III during the Great Māhele of 1848 and subsequent Kuleana Act of 1850 (Kauanui 2008:28). The annexationists acted as though their overthrow was legal and as if they were the rightful new rulers and developed an annexation treaty with President McKinley; however, in 1898, when the United States attempted to annex the Republic of Hawai'i the treaty failed because 38,000 out of 40,000 Hawaiians petitioned against the annexation (Kauanui 2008:28). These petitions are also known as the *Kū'ē* Petition Letters (Minton and Silva 2001). Instead of an annexation treaty a joint resolution called the Newlands Resolution established the transference of the republic to a territory of the United States without regard for Hawaiians. A joint resolution requires the approval of both the Senate and the House, both branches of the United States government, leaving Hawaiians without a voice.

The Newlands Resolution allowed the local government to use revenue obtained from any use of the lands (Kauanui 2008:32), stipulating that these "shall be used solely

the situation in the Hawaiian Islands, the Organic Act of 1900 established a government for the territory of Hawai'i as well as a public trust officiated by the federal government (Kauanui 2008:29). The lands seized by the Provisional Government are purported, to this day, to be "ceded" to the United States because the Provisional Government agreed to cede them to the United States; however, the Hawaiian Queen never ceded them over to the Provisional Government and no act of war from any member of the Hawaiian Kingdom provoked the overthrow. These same lands, referred to as "public" in the Hawai'i State Admission Act, were transferred into state control, rather than federal, under the 1959 Hawaii State Admission Act (MacKenzie 1991:15). As part of the territory's admission, which was desired by the Hawai'i residents, to the United States, the territory "acknowledge the trust obligation as a condition of admission to the union" (Kauanui 2008:30). The trust obligation, as defined in section 5(f) of the Hawaii State Admission Act, stated five purposes for the revenue obtained from leases of the crown and governmental lands set aside by Kamehameha III, including "support of public education, the development of farm and home ownership, public improvements, provision of lands for public use" (Kauanui 2008:29), and "the betterment of the conditions of Hawaiians" as defined in the Hawaiian Homes Commission Act of 1920 (73 stat. 4 195). Additionally, the Hawaiian Homes Commission Act of July 9, 1921 (Title 2, Section 201, line 7) defined "Native Hawaiian" to mean "any descendant of not less than one-half part of the blood of the races inhabiting the Hawaiian Islands previous to 1778" and is

> enforced by the State Department of Hawaiian Home Lands (DHHL), a process that requires the presentation of official and formal records of their Hawaiian ancestors: birth, marriage, and death certificates, and census records. Many Hawaiians to this day, however, cannot formally prove their Hawaiianness. [Halualani 2002:xiv-xv].

Thus, only the Hawaiians who could prove at least 50 percent Hawaiian blood ancestry would receive the support as outlined in the Admission Act of 1959, alleviating the state of any additional responsibility to enhance and improve the lives of Hawaiians with less

Thus, only the Hawaiians who could prove at least 50 percent Hawaiian blood ancestry would receive the support as outlined in the Admission Act of 1959, alleviating the state of any additional responsibility to enhance and improve the lives of Hawaiians with less than 50 percent Hawaiian blood. Proving Hawaiian ancestry was most likely no easy task for Hawaiians; one participant reported that his family registered as something other than Hawaiian.

Shortly after statehood, foreign investors arrived and tourism boomed again (Kauanui 2008; Trask 1999) . These events displaced indigenous Hawaiians and *Locals* alike; "The residency rights of local people were thus framed in opposition to the development rights of property owners like the state, corporations, and private estates" (Trask 1999:67). As a result by 1978, the Office of Hawaiian Affairs was created to protect Hawaiian interests but abiding by the 50 percent blood quantum. In response to the Hawaiian cultural renaissance and the increased intensity of the Hawaiian Sovereignty Movement, former President Clinton issued the Apology Resolution in 1993 (Public Law 103-150). This defined "Hawaiians" in Section 2 of Public Law 103-150 as "any individual who is a descendant of the aboriginal people, who, prior to 1778, occupied and exercised sovereignty in the area that now constitutes the State of Hawaii" (United States Congress 1993). As a result, "[t]he Apology Resolution has since served as a focal point for mobilization as passage of the law empowered the islands' sovereignty movement through the 1990s and increased Hawaiian initiatives for self-determination" (Kauanui 2008:31). In an attempt to encapsulate a resolution between Hawaiians and the United States regarding the state of the Hawaiian Islands, Hawaii State Senator Daniel Akaka has been proposing The Hawaiian Government Reorganization Act at each Congress since the 106th United States Congress in 2000 (Kauanui 2008, 2005). It is more commonly known as the Akaka Bill. The bill has been to Congress five times. The current form of the Akaka Bill is known as The Hawaiian Government Reorganization Act of 2009. The Akaka bill intends to gain federal recognition of the indigenous group known as Hawaiians, similar to that of Native Americans and Alaska

Natives, by "... the reorganization of the Native Hawaiian governing entity for the purpose of establishing a federally recognized government-to-government relationship with the United States, consistent with U.S. policy towards its indigenous peoples" (Akaka 2009). According to Senator Akaka, the bill does not allow: (1) secession of Hawaii from the United States, (2) private lands to be taken, (3) gaming in Hawaii, or (4) creation of a reservation in Hawaii (2009). Its purpose is considered detrimental to Hawaiians by several indigenous activists because it would legitimize the United States' actions in 1893 and 1898. (Kauanui 2008, Trask 1999). This bill would create a nation within a nation (Kauanui 2005:1) and

> if passed, U.S. Government would then have its federally reorganized Native governing entity empowered by the U.S. government to negotiate a cash settlement in exchange for forfeiting land title. The bill would limit the full sovereignty claim and set up a process to extinguish Hawaiians' land title. But the state of Hawaii wants to sell these lands for its own coffers. Hence, the state hopes the U.S. Supreme Court ruling would nullify the Apology, which the state contends is merely 'symbolic' as a Joint Resolution. [Kauanui 2009:7].

Noenoe Silva, in an interview with Kluepfel (2005), stated, "[o]ne of the dangers of the Akaka Bill is that it may make it much easier for the Federal Government to take more of our land. People should be a little wary of these attempts to bind Hawaiians more firmly within the U.S. system" (1).

A website exists that is dedicated to educating people about the Akaka Bill, called www.StopAkakaBill.com. The primary focus of the website is to stop the Akaka Bill from passing in Congress because "it will extinguish forever all Hawaiian claims for redress and bar all future claims" (StopAkakaBill 2009). Kelly (2004), in accordance with the website, states "[t]oday state, federal, and media might are insisting that *Kānaka Maoli* accept federal recognition as an American 'tribe', a means to dispossess kanaka of their claims to the land and to use their land for the military" (94). Displeased with the Akaka Bill, Sam Kealoha Jr. points out:

> Let's look at the facts about S147 (the Akaka Bill). Beginning with its phony purpose, through the various versions, to its present form, four things never

> changed in this scam: Congressional findings that indigenous Hawaiians meet the criteria for recognition. A new "'Hawaiian governing entity" with procedures established and approved by our "'apologetic thief'." A definition of Hawaiian that has zero blood quantum. And, an authorization that directs the new "'Hawaiian governing entity'" to settle indigenous land claims. [in Kauanui 2008:171].

Kauanui (2008: 171) identifies the letter of Sam Kealoha Jr. as "an example of the history wrought by the 50 percent blood quantum definition—a legacy that has long divided the Hawaiian Community." The 50 percent Hawaiian blood quantum defies this definition, resulting in a discourse over who is more or less Hawaiian based on how much Hawaiian blood they may have. This scenario often creates disputes as to who *looks* Hawaiian. Organizations with resources for Hawaiians must adhere to the 50 percent blood quantum (McCubbin and Dang 2009:271). Such organizations include the Office of Hawaiian Affairs (OHA) and the Kamehameha Schools, even as the endowment placed in a trust by the last descendant of the Hawaiian Monarchy, Princess Bernice Apuahi Bishop, entitled the trust to all Hawaiians (McCubbin and Dang 2009:271). In order for the 50 percent rule to be maintained, Hawaiians would have to marry other Hawaiians. Although, Hawaiians often distinguish themselves based on genealogy: "Even though blood has evolved as a metaphor for ancestry in Hawaiian contexts, as an administrative procedure it is qualitatively distinct from Hawaiian genealogical practices..." (Kauanui 2008:32). Kauanui (2009) discussed that "blood modes are exclusive while genealogical ones are usually inclusive, thus blood quantum fragments ancestry" (32). The blood quantum divides Hawaiians, separating and excluding Hawaiians from being Hawaiian not only in the US Government's eyes but trickles down to individual Hawaiians who try to determine one's Hawaiianness based on a percentage, as Kauanui (2008) describes.

3.5 Justification for Sovereignty

As pointed out in Chapter 2, the first Polynesians arrived in the Hawaiian Islands between 200 and 400 A.D. (Sakoda and Siegel 2003). The first Europeans arrived with Captain James Cook in 1778 (Sahlins 1985), followed by the Chinese during the fur

trade, and Americans by 1810 (Sakoda and Siegel 2003). As a result of the waves of colonists, the Hawaiian Kingdom soon found it had many longtime visitors, business investors, and sugar plantations. The United States illegally overthrew the Hawaiian monarchy in 1893 and forced annexation by military occupation with the United States Marines in 1898 (Silva 2004; Trask 1999; Merry 1997; United States Congress1993). Amidst the economic activities, tourism forced many Hawaiians out of their homes in order for hotels to be built (Trask and Greevy 2004). The desire for the Hawaiian Kingdom to be restored has been a common interest among Hawaiian Nationalists (Trask 1999) since the US illegally overthrew the Hawaiian monarchy in 1893 and US military occupation in 1898 (Marshall 2006; Silva 2004; Trask 1999; United States Congress1993). Merry (1997) highlights the apex in the Hawaiian Sovereignty Movement: "This Law [(Public Law 103-150)] acknowledges that the indigenous Hawaiian people never directly relinquished their claims to their inherent sovereignty as a people or over their national lands either through their monarchy or through a plebiscite or referendum" (33). It is important to note that not just one US President, but *two,* documented and admitted to the illegal actions of the United States toward the sovereign Hawaiian Kingdom: once by President Cleveland with the Blount Report and the other in 1993 by President Clinton in a public law.

In 1893, President Cleveland sent a representative, James Henderson Blount, over to the Hawaiian Islands to investigate the takeover (Merry 1997). This report that later became known as the Blount Report, identified the "seizure of an independent nation over the protest of its legitimate ruler" (Merry 1997:33). "Blount's Report has justly come to be known among Hawaiians as the single most damaging document against the United States, the missionary descendants, and the arrogant Mr. Stevens" (Trask 1999:13). As a result of the Blount Report, President Cleveland addressed to the Senate and House of Representatives:

> Believing, therefore, that the United States could not, under the circumstances disclosed, annex the islands without justly incurring the imputation of acquiring

> them by unjustifiable methods, I shall not again submit the treaty of annexation to the Senate. [United States Congress 1893:455-456].

President Cleveland "in refusing to submit a treaty of annexation to the Senate in 1893, pointed to the unethical role the United States played" (Levy 1975:862); however, the United States election of William McKinley to President in 1896 led to the annexation of Hawai'i even after President Cleveland condemned the actions taken by the United States (Trask 1999; Merry 1997). Upon the election of President McKinley, an imperialist, the Spanish American War encouraged the United States annexation of the Hawaiian Islands (Merry 1997); "final annexation in 1898 had to wait for a real imperialist, William McKinley" (Trask 1999:15). The trick under President McKinley was that a simple majority had to take place for annexation rather than by treaty (Trask 1999):

> No vote was taken on a treaty of annexation, either in the colony nor the Congress. Both annexationists in Hawai'i and in America knew that a vote would go against them. The Natives, as Blount had repeatedly heard from *haole* and Hawaiians he interviewed, were against annexation to a person. They had seen and tasted American democracy: white gang rule supported by white military thugs. Hawaiians preferred their own Native government. Asian immigrants would not have been allowed to vote, even if the *haole* planters had agreed to a referendum on annexation, which they did not. Since most immigrants owned no property and neither read nor wrote English or Hawaiian, this was a fitting ruse for excluding them, too. [Trask 1999:15].

Essentially, annexation occurred because everyone who would vote against it was not allowed to vote. Based on the historical events in the Hawaiian Islands, it is clear why land would be a key topic in the Hawaiian Sovereignty Movement. In the following paragraphs I will discuss the geosemiotics of each major contributing force, tourism and *Local* identity, and the possible messages emitted.

3.6 In the Context of Geosemiotics

The Geosemiotics of Tourism

In the context of geosemiotics, the visual elements of tourism send a message: capitalists care about Hawaiian culture, and "Hawaiian" and "multicultural" are

synonymous. These hegemonic devices impact visitors and residents alike by portraying that Hawaiian culture is protected and respected, when in fact residents do not feel that way, according to the 2006-2015 Hawai'i Island Tourism Strategic Plan (Hawai'i Tourism Authority 2005). The Hawai'i Tourism Authority (2005) reports that "[t]he visitor industry is in an ideal position to promote Hawaiian culture and traditions in an accurate and respectful way" (34). Additionally, local residents are starting to internalize the message/images of tourism; Linnekin (1997), Picard (1990), and Volkman (1990) have argued that "tourism has transformative effects on local identity concepts and self-definition, particularly when culture is marketed as an attraction" (Linnekin 1997:217). Tourism in the islands depends largely on what Hawai'i used to be: "... an antiquated nativism that is already dead and quickly consumed" (Halualani 2002:xiii), the selling of ancient Hawaiian cultural past through tours and figurines. Two other aspects of tourism in the Hawaiian Islands includes (1) tourist spaces such as hotels preserve traditional Hawaiian culture and (2) multiculturalism equates to Hawaiianness and Hawaiian identity, thus liberalizing the meaning of Hawaiianness to outsiders.

The Geosemiotics of Local Identity

Because the state's expressed multicultural identity, the struggle over the meaning of Hawaiianness is "mitigated and considered an antisocial threat to civil life and everything Hawaiian" (Halualani 2002:xiv). Multiculturalism thus stands for Hawaiianness itself and recognizes only post-contact Hawai'i and at the same time, erases pre-contact Hawai'i; every aspect of the state regarding the residents of the Hawaiian Islands are deemed Hawaiian through the "spirit of aloha" and "multiculturalism." And, any action contrary to the state's ideologies, such as protests for sovereignty, mark Hawaiians as "largely "un-Hawaiian," "racist," and "antisocial" (Halualani 2002:xiv).

3.7 Identity Politics and What it Means for Sovereignty

Halualani (2002) cites an incident from 1999 regarding 500 tuition waivers that Senator Norman Mizuguchi proposed in a bill to give to Hawaiians. The University of

Hawai'i Mānoa sits on Crown lands and by law, as discussed in earlier sections of this chapter, Hawaiians should receive support from funds received from leasing the land; however, *Locals* and Hawai'i residents made a cogent argument that they were just as much Hawaiian as Hawaiians. Three main arguments include: (1) they were born in the Hawaiian Islands, (2) their ancestors endured similar struggles as Hawaiians, or (3) their arrival to the Hawaiian Islands was under the same pretenses as the first Polynesians to arrive in the islands (to make a better life for themselves).

Presently, Hawaiians are barely seen as Hawaiian because the state disseminates "Hawaiian" and "mulitculurality" as synonyms. If Hawaiians protest, demanding Hawaiian sovereignty, they are not Hawaiian because they are not living in the spirit of aloha that the state of Hawai'i has adopted to encourage passivity among the cultural groups residing in the islands. "Hawaiian" has become liberalized to incorporate Hawai'i residents and *Locals*. Although, the multiculturality and racial equality ideologies of the state "confuse and defuse the protest practices of Hawaiian sovereignty and land activists" (Halualani 2002:xiv). Additionally, the state views as Hawaiian those who have at least 50 percent Hawaiian blood. Halualani (2002) argues that Hawaiians are denied any claim of being Hawaiian through such liberalizations of the meaning of *Hawaiian*; "[i]n the extended struggle over sovereign rights, land, and benefits, *haoles,* [*Locals*], and Hawaiians fight over the claim to being truly Hawaiian and native to the islands" (Halualani 2002:5). The variety of claims of being Hawaiian have created confusion about and have weakened the Hawaiian Sovereignty Movement.

Chapter 4: Hawaiians' and Hawai'i Residents' Perceptions of Hawaiianness

Visual elements in the public environment with which residents can experience daily can indicate or portray imaginings about a group of people. Some visual elements of the public environment on Hawai'i Island contain Hawaiian and/or Pidgin language; other visual elements of the public environment present images of local culture as it is understood currently. This study focused on the role of such visual elements in imaginings of Hawaiianness. In this study three types of ethnographic research tools were used, a "walk-through," "pile sorting," and "category tests." The activities ranged from participants observing and commenting on photographs of Hawaiian scenes to actual taking of photographs of objects and scenes that the participants saw to be characteristically "Hawaiian." The walk-throughs, pile sorting, and category tests, inclusive of participant observation, were designed to understand what is or is not seen as Hawaiian and to understand why something is or is not seen as Hawaiian.

These three ethnographic exercises were aimed at assessing 14 participants' perceptions of "Hawaiianness" associated with visual elements of the public environment of Hilo. The first procedure was a "walk-through" in which participants were instructed to photograph scenes, activities, and images of what they saw as Hawaiian. The second research exercise was a "pile sorting" activity in which participants were instructed to separate photographs into distinct groupings based on if they saw an image as 'Hawaiian' or 'not Hawaiian'. The third measurement tool consisted of seven category tests in which participants were instructed to select the photograph that was most Hawaiian. From the three research procedures alongside the qualitative data elicited during the activities, I analyzed data focusing on four research questions: (1) What visual elements of the public environment, if any, do residents of Hawai'i Island see as "Hawaiian"? (2) Why are such visual elements of the public environment regarded as "Hawaiian"? (3) What, if anything, is common to the visual elements of the public environment selected as Hawaiian? (4) If there are patterns of Hawaiian – Hawai'i

4.1 indicates each resident's participation in each of the research activities. This chapter is organized as follows: First I will discuss the methods and methodology employed during my fieldwork. Then, results and corresponding photographs from the three activities are presented in the separate sub-sections, "The Walk-through," "Pile Sorting," and "The Seven Category Tests." Major themes and patterns that emerged out of all of the data from the three activities are then discussed at the conclusion of this chapter.

4.1 The Nature of the Study

In this section, I will introduce the ethnographic approaches used in this study to illuminate central questions about what people think about the things they see around them, referred to as visual elements of the public environment on Hawai'i Island. Photography was central to each method. The methodology employed was designed not to impose too much structure on participant responses, but to allow the participant to share indigenous and culturally specific ways of knowing and understanding (Tuhiwai-Smith 2002) about their visually encoded world. There were four stages during this fieldwork: researcher's photographic observation, participants' photographic observations (walk-through, pile sorting, and the seven category tests, with the three activities accompanied by semi-structured interviews. Each of the activities, pile sorting and category tests, used photographs selected from the researcher's observations and in collaboration with Hawaiian community members.

Researcher's Photographic Observation

I conducted initial photographic observations on Hawai'i Island during the first seven to ten days of fieldwork. Photographic observation refers to photographing visual elements of the public environment of the Big Island, including street signs, advertisements, activities, and landscapes. Specific visual elements of the public environment of the Big Island targeted were representations of being Hawaiian, language, cultural symbols, signage, Hawaiian canoeing, and the *Kīlauea* volcano, for example. Photographic observation began upon arrival in Hilo International Airport and continued throughout five weeks of interviews. I tried to take photographs of what appeared to me

throughout five weeks of interviews. I tried to take photographs of what appeared to me to be elements of daily visual experience that could be recognized as signs of Hawai'i as a social and cultural entity. Photographic composition figured in bringing certain aspects of the public environment into focus. For example, a street sign on its own or a sign with a cultural landscape in the background emphasized the language orthography and meaning on the one hand or the scenery on the other, depending on who looked at the image. Composition and image emphasis were also important for the photographs to be used in the pile sorting and triad testing activities.

Rationale for Use of Photography

Participant photographic observation and elicitation enabled exploration of what is seen as Hawaiian and what is not. Images are useful because they are uncontaminated by verbal interpretation (Banks 2007). The photographs made by participants can be considered to be "visual discourse" (Stanczak 2007:1) because the participants are communicating with me through photography. They are "intimate dimensions of the social" (Clark-Ibáñez 2007:178)." Still shots can be one at a time or series of stills to capture frame by frame of a moving object (Banks 2007:20). Taking a photograph of a visual element from the past brings it forward to the present, thus allowing for research on the past in the present (Banks 2007:21). This means a sign erected twenty years ago can be captured in a photograph and analyzed in its contemporary public environment. Over time, image meaning can change. By using photography, my participants and I can talk about effects of history on the contemporary Hawaiian Islands and culture. By bringing a historical image to the present with photography (Banks 2007:20), participants revealed visual elements which contribute to better understand the historical grounding of their perceptions of Hawaiianness.

Participant Recruitment and Participation

Participants in this study were from the following points of contact developed from (1) my social network from 2005-2006, (2) new friends, (3) community meetings and movie showings, (4) word of mouth, (5) simply asking someone for an interview at

community public places like leisure beaches such as Richardson's beach park, *Onekahakaha* beach park, downtown Hilo, Miloli'i, Pahoa, and Puna, (6) local businesses, (7) on photographic observation trips, and (8) informational websites regarding Hawaiians, culture, sovereignty, and related issues on the Big Island.

All but two of the interviews were pre-arranged because each interviewee expressed to me that s/he wanted to set aside a period of time for us to talk. This was culturally appropriate, especially since participant compensation came in the form of food. The manner in which I would compensate participants was discussed with a Hawaiian friend prior to arrival in the Hawaiian Islands. Discussing compensation with my Hawaiian friend was important for determining the most culturally appropriate form of compensation. He and I decided that food was not only a good ice-breaker, but also comforting. Local foods, such as *'ahi poke*[31] and rambuton fruit were the most popular and preferred.

Initially, informants were selected at random and through participants' networks or my own. When I did not have an interview scheduled I relied on the networks. In a few cases, I sought people directly involved in the Hawaiian Sovereignty Movement. At first I was shy about asking for an interview but to my surprise most people wanted to participate. No specific age was targeted, although participants aged 20-70 yielded the most detailed explanations of their photograph selections and perceptions of Hawaiianness. Certainly I preferred participants who were comfortable discussing a wide range of topics so I made conversation to sense who was amenable to discussing freely any topics regarding Hawaiianness.

I always had the opportunity to meet someone first and then ask for an interview. Usually if someone did not want to be interviewed s/he would say so. I used opportunistic and snowball sampling; word of mouth worked best because it meant someone knew

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[31] *'Ahi* means "tuna fish" (Pukui and Elbert 1986:7) and *poke* means "to slice, cut crosswies into pieces, as fish or wood: (Pukui and Elbert 1986:337). *'Ahi poke* is raw tuna pieces mixed with desired flavorings such as soy sauce, sesame oil, sesame seeds, green onions, macadamia nuts, and *limu* (a type of seaweed).

participants who wanted to talk with me about Hawaiian culture especially, and/or sovereignty and nationalism. Very few participants wished not to discuss sovereignty and/ or nationalism. I did not push anyone to talk about any subject. In every case, the participant commented that s/he enjoyed telling me about their culture and thanked me for listening. Interviews were semi-structured, open-ended, and varied in length, from thirty minutes to three and a half hours. Sovereignty group leaders generally told me what they consider themselves to be good at – I found this helpful in understanding the intense diversity amongst the sovereignty groups. Leaders also encouraged my attendance at various community events, rallies and protests related to my research questions. I tried to work with a balanced group of participants across binary categories such as male and female, movement leader and supporter, active and passive supporter, Hawaiian sovereignty supporter and Hawai'i resident supporter, and jobs located indoors and outdoors.

Sixteen residents participated in the walk-through activity; five photographed on their own, three provided photographs they had already taken, two showed the researcher what to photograph because they did not want to use a camera, and 11 participants shared their imaginings of Hawaiianness (refer to Table 4.1 below).

Table 4.1: Hawaiians' and Hawai'i Residents' Participation							
Group						Alternatives to Walk-through	
	Participant #	Interview	Walk-through	Pile Sort	Category Tests	Provided Pix	Imaginings
Hawaiians	Ke'ala	x	x	x	x		x
	A'ala	x		x	x	x	x
	Kawika	x					
	Keoni	x					
	Keola	x		x	x		
	Malia	x					x
	Kainoa	x					
	Māhealani	x					
	Kanani	x					
	Kealoha	x		x			x
	Leilani	x		x	x		x
	Ikaika	x					x
	Kamaka	x	x	x	x		
	Noelani	x		x	x	x	x
Hawai'i Residents	Brad	x					
	Ethan	x		x	x		x
	Ava	x		x	x	x	
	Addison	x	x	x	x		
	Arthur	x	x	x	x		
	Alfred	x		x	x		x
	Jacob	x	x	x	x		
	John	x					x
	Ben	x	x	x	x		x

4.2 The Walk-through

A walk-through[32] is a two-part ethnographic investigative procedure that (1) is done in daylight, and (2) in which a participant "walks through" a site taking photographs and narrating the walk-through to the researcher, with the illustrative help of the photographs s/he has taken. Photography was limited to daylight hours to limit

[32] This term for this ethnographic procedure, 'walk-through', emerged out of a conversation with my committee chair, David Koester, in October 2008.

photographs s/he has taken. Photography was limited to daylight hours to limit complications in aperture settings and appropriate for participants' schedules. It is called a "walk-through" because the participant and I literally *walk through* an area or place of their choice while s/he photographs it and gives explanations or stories to accompany the photographs s/he has taken. The equipment available for this activity was a Canon SD-850IS and an Ikelite 6147.85 underwater housing in the event a participant wanted to photograph under the water,[33] although no one chose this option. This is most likely due to the season I conducted my fieldwork; even in tropical Hawai'i, the water is not very warm in the winter. The walk-through provided a wealth of knowledge with regards to getting to know individual participants and understanding their perceptions of Hawaiianness. The activity provided the participants and me an opportunity to become familiar with each other and for participants to create their own photographs of visual elements of the public environment they saw as Hawaiian.

In the first part of the walk-through, the participant and I *talked story* (have a conversation) for fifteen minutes to an hour. The time spent talking story was dependent on the participant. In some cases, if a participant wanted to be interviewed but did not want to photograph, s/he would visualize with me and tell me what s/he would photograph, also called "imaginings." Visualizing means verbally depicting her/his imaginings of what s/he would photograph. After talking story, participant(s) wanting to photograph on their walk-through conducted their own photographic observations by capturing visual elements relevant to their imaginings of Hawaiianness. The site was selected by the participant for reasons s/he explained during the walk-through. Participants were asked to select a place based on what they saw as Hawaiian. Usually participants selected a place in terms of its cultural or national significance.

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[33] Fish are a large part of Hawaiian culture and diet. One fish in particular, *humuhumunukunukuapua'a*, the Picasso Triggerfish, is the State fish of Hawai'i and was a reasonable candidate for underwater photographic observation, as well as *honu,* 'sea turtle' as it is known for carrying Hawaiian ancestors on their backs.

Following up with the participants after they answered this question, I asked participants to explain why they saw the object as Hawaiian or what they considered Hawaiian about it. Participants were not asked to shoot a prescribed number of photographs simply to meet a quota. Participants had freedom to photograph according to her/his perceptions of Hawaiianness and visual style such as color accent, color swap, panoramic, manual, automatic and scene modes, and object placement in zoom, landscape, or macro modes. Participants photographically captured visual elements of the public environment that they saw as Hawaiian—sometimes with a single photograph while others needed multiple, either to get the right image or simply a participant saw more than one visual element of the public environment as Hawaiian. On average, a participant took 21 photographs (minimum 4, maximum 27). Additionally, a walk-through allowed participants to create her or his own photographs and engage in conversation about Hawaiianness as it relates to her or his own career or other social activities. The purpose of participants performing their own photographic observation was (1) to allow participants to select their own visual elements and (2) for the participant to engage, first hand, visual elements s/he saw as Hawaiian.

The walk-throughs were left purposely unstructured to allow participants to speak freely and openly but with the guarantee of confidentiality. To take into account different ways of knowing visual elements surrounding someone, I allowed a walk-through without a camera. In some cases, the participant requested that photography not be used nor digital recording but allowed me to document our conversation in writing. It is most important to understand the participant's imaginings of a Hawaiianness, even if it must be verbal rather than visual. In cases where participants did not want to photograph, the participant instructed me as to what to photograph. With the exception of one participant, Hawaiians preferred providing their own photographs of Hawaiianness to photographing during a walk-through while three Hawai'i residents photographed during their walk-through. Participants using a camera tended to select more photographs than those participants not using a camera or providing their own photographs (refer to Table 4.2).

Table 4.2 Participant Photograph Selections and Method of Sharing Their Imaginings of Hawaiianness

	Method of Sharing Imaginings of Hawaiianness		
Participant	**Used Camera?**	**Provided their Own Photos?**	**# Photos selected**
[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
Leilani	No	Yes	26
[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
Kamaka	Yes	No	21
[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
Ke'ala	No	No	18
Kealoha	No	No	17
[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
A'ala	No	Yes	9
Keola	No	No	8
Noelani	No	No	3

Legend	
	Hawaiian
	Hawai'i Resident

Walk-through Results

During the walk-through, participants explained why s/he photographed a particular visual element to illustrate some aspect(s) about Hawaiian culture. The participants were specifically asked to take photographs of visual elements in the public environment that they see as Hawaiian. Participants were encouraged to explicate their notions of Hawaiianness and what Hawaiianness means to them on an individual level. I did not ask participants directly to give a definition of Hawaiianness, but instead I asked them to show me what appears Hawaiian to them and to explain why they see it as Hawaiian. The number of participants in each walk-through depended upon the mode of transportation, but generally involved one person and myself at an agreed upon site.

Hawaiian. The number of participants in each walk-through depended upon the mode of transportation, but generally involved one person and myself at an agreed upon site. There was only one instance of two participants together; however, they expressed different views as to what they saw as "Hawaiian" or "not Hawaiian." The walk-through lasted for an average of one hour, depending on the level of involvement from participants. At the same time that participant(s) and I walked-through a site, I recorded with an Olympus DS-330 digital recorder and/or by hand, depending on the participant's preference. During this time, we had discussions about the site and the reasons for the images s/he had taken of the visual environment on Hawai'i Island. Participants living in Hilo usually chose a place inside of the Hilo District to begin their walk-through. Other participants lived in Puna and Kona Districts and chose sites inside of those districts. This allowed me to observe firsthand the public signs the participants saw as related to the Hawaiianness of an area. Participants and I walked and talked about visual elements of the public environment s/he had photographed. Occasionally we discussed her/his level of nationalist interest and motivation for sovereignty for the Hawaiian Islands in relation to the visual elements available in the public environment. Participants' conversations about this subject will be discussed later in this chapter and in Chapter 5. After the walk-through, the participant and I moved on to stages 3 and 4, the pile sort and seven category tests. Refer to Table 4.2 (above) for participant participation in research activities.

I coded the photographs and participants' rationale into five themes. The most frequently cited themes in participants' photographic observations could broadly be characterized as: culture, nature, activities, and people. Hawaiians photographed visual elements of the public environment that they saw as essentially Hawaiian or inherently Hawaiian, such as *Kīlauea 'iki* volcano area (Fig. 4.1), *Waipi'o* Valley (Fig. 4.2), a hula teacher (Fig. 4.3), Hawaiian art (Fig. 4.4), signage in support of a sovereign Hawaiian nation (Fig. 4.5), historical sites such as the Naha Stone (Fig. 4.6), or a taro patch (Fig. 4.7), for example.

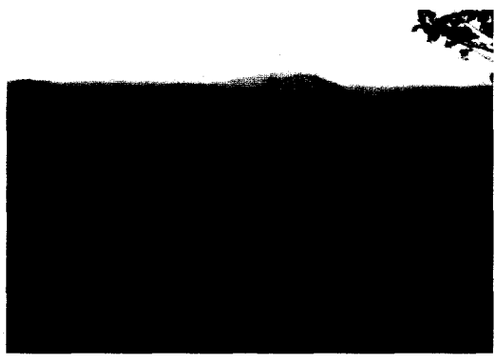

Figure 4.1: *Kīlauea 'iki*
Kīlauea 'iki (spewing or rising smoke cloud crater) is a collapse crater of *Kīlauea* volcano, Hawai'i Volcanoes National Park (Photograph by Ashley Meredith and Ke'ala 2009)

Figure 4.2: *Waipi'o* Valley
Waipi'o Valley (curved water valley), *Waipi'o*, *Hamakua* District, Hawai'i (Photograph by A'ala 2009)

Figure 4.3: *Kumu* (teacher)
(Photograph by A'ala 2009)

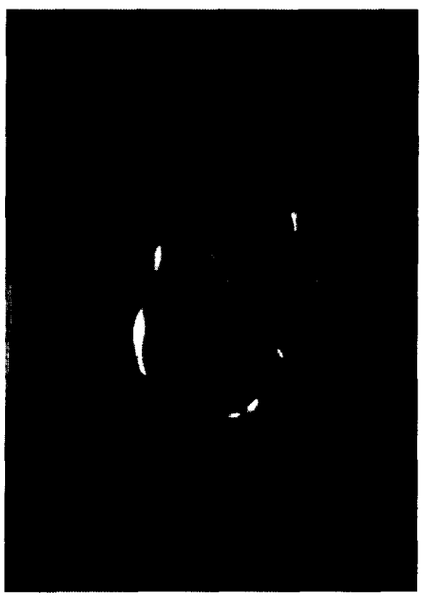

Figure 4.4: Hawaiian Expression
Artwork by Noelani
(Photograph by Ashley Meredith 2009)

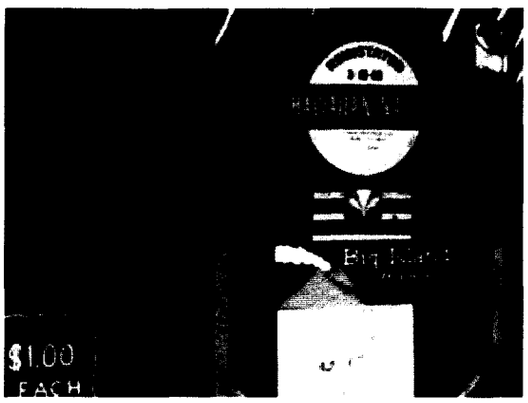

Figure 4.5: Sovereignty Signage
"Reinstated Hawaiian Nation" "Big Island Hawai'i... bigger every day" and the green, red, yellow flag is the Hawaiian vessel flag, Kalapana, Hawai'i (Photograph by Ikaika 2009)

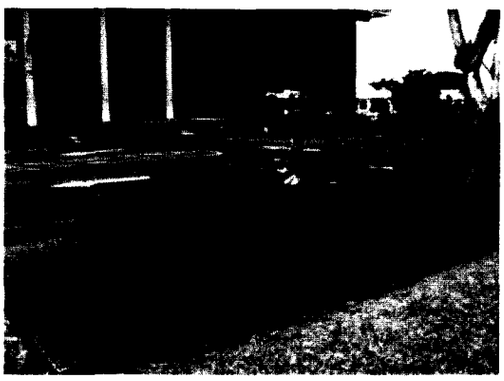

Figure 4.6: Naha Stones
"The Naha Stone's legend promised that he who could conquer the stone would conquer the islands" (Morrison and Kiefer 2003:16). Kamehameha the Great is said to have picked up these stones (long one on left and taller one on the right used to be part of a larger stone (Morrison and Kiefer 2003). Thus, he was the first to unite and become the King of the Hawaiian. Hilo, Hawai'i (Photograph by Kamaka 2009)

Figure 4.7: Working in the Taro Patch
(A'ala 2009)

Hawai'i photographed visual elements of the public environment where they had seen Hawaiians such as Hawaiian heritage sites (Fig. 4.8), and what they learned about Hawaiian culture from living in the Hawaiian Islands (usually associated with *Pele* stories[34] related to lava flowing) (Fig. 4.9), natural spaces (Fig. 4.10), by the water (Fig. 4.11), with big vehicles (Fig. 4.12), and festivals.[35]

Figure 4.8: *Kona Heiau*
(Photograph by Ben 2009)

Figure 4.9: Pele Crossing Road
(Photograph by Ava 2009)

Figure 4.10: Richardson's Beach Nature
Hilo, Hawai'i (Photograph by Addison 2009)

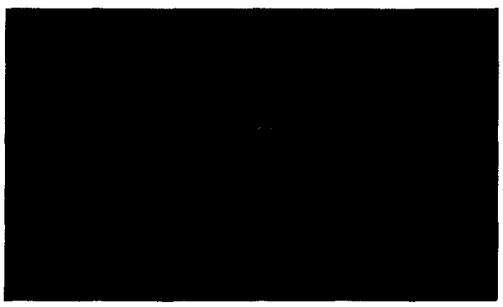

Figure 4.11: Surfers at Richardson's
"Dawn patrol" (early morning surfing session) at Richardson's Beach Park, Hilo, Hawai'i (Photograph by Addison 2009)

[34] 'Pele stories' refers to the stories about Pele walking among mortals in the Hawaiian Islands.

[35] Jacob wanted to photograph the Merrie Monarch Festival as being Hawaiian, but unfortunately, the event occurs annually in April. See http://www.merriemonarchfestival.org for event details.

Figure 4.12: By the Water
(Hilo, Hawai'i, Photograph by Alfred 2009)

4.3 Pile Sorting

The goal of pile sorting was to understand how people living on Hawai'i Island interpreted and categorized signs associated with Hawaiianness. To understand perceptions of the visual element in the public environment of the Big Island, the pile sorting activity was necessary (Page 2007:309). The nature of asking different people about the same photographs revealed differences in perceptions of what is and is not considered Hawaiian. This stage was designed to accomplish three goals: (1) an opportunity to ask her/him about the visual elements I saw and deemed as representations of being Hawaiian, (2) a chance to focus their thinking on specific visual elements of the public environment, and (3) later, a comparison tool with results from the walk-through. The comparison between photographs and explanations between the walk-through, pile sorting, and seven category tests was to better understand the participants' photographic choices. This checked if the participant (1) photographed the same or similar visual elements as I did and (2) had consistent explanations about visual elements of which s/he

took photographs. Through pile sorting, I learned what visual elements people associate with Hawaiianness.

Pile sorting took place after a participant photographed her/his selected area but before the actual sorting of photographs. Before this activity started, we *talked story* for a brief period of time. Many of the participants asked me about my familiarity with the history of the Hawaiian Islands and the Hawaiian Sovereignty Movement; one participant asked for my cultural heritage. Hawaiian participants would often talk about a "Hawaiian nation," "Hawaiian culture," and "Hawaiianness" interchangeably, continually noting that "it's all connected" as Leilani explained. Interchangeability means using each of the terms as if they were synonymous with each other. Hawai'i residents did not appear to use interchangeability with the subjects as Hawaiians exhibited. Only one Hawai'i resident, Ben, expressed his comfort with the subject of sovereignty and interchangeability of Hawaiian culture, Hawaiianness, and Hawaiian nation. He was involved in the Hawaiian Sovereignty Movement and in educating visitors about the history of the islands. The remaining non-Hawaiian participants did not seem to have the same proximity to the subject of sovereignty as Ben, nor did they use "Hawaiian nation," "Hawaiian culture," and "Hawaiianness" interchangeably.

One seemed uncomfortable with the subject of sovereignty when she saw Figure 4.16, the State of Hawaii flag upside down, replying "I guess it is [Hawaiian] with the flag. I don't see anything that I would be proud to be representative of Hawaii for me, I don't know about Hawaiians" and indicated she was not going to discuss Hawaiian sovereignty issues further. Other Hawai'i residents indicated political understandings of Figure 4.16 (above) but did not extend their explanation past knowing what it could represent for many Hawaiians. These participants indicated simply that they did not want to talk about Hawaiian sovereignty, feeling "it's not my business," or claiming they did not have enough information. The reasons the six Hawai'i residents may not have been as eager to bring up or discuss the Hawaiian Sovereignty Movement was unclear but suggests an absence of interchangeability of the terms Hawaiian nation, Hawaiian

culture, and Hawaiianness for this group of participants. Based on my experience from 2005-2006, Hawaiian culture and Hawaiianness did not seem interchangeable with Hawaiian nation for Hawai'i residents since the Hawaiian nation has been perceived as radical and towards Hawai'i residents and Hawaiian culture and Hawaiianness has been perceived as benevolent; however, of the seven Hawai'i residents, six understood the Hawaiian sovereignty movement as just but needing more unification among the Hawaiian people and four of those six participants supported the movement. After having a small conversation, participants sorted photographs.

This activity consisted of the sorting of 26 photographs from each of the seven categories developed during my photographic observations: land, language, street signs, directive signs, advertisements, flowers, and activities. Initially, I selected four broad categories, street signs, advertisements, public activities and landscape. When it came to asking my participants, these categories proved to be too broad. The photographs selected for this activity went through a three-stage selection process that could roughly be summarized as, "should this object or landscape or the resulting image be counted as or considered to be Hawaiian?" The first stage involved (1) making the decisions, based on previous participant observation and preliminary field research, in photographing visual elements of the public environment of Hawai'i Island. Second, (2) I made selections from 5,400 photographs taken around Hawai'i Island from December 30, 2008 to January 4, 2009, and finally (3) Hawaiian residents of Hawai'i Island made suggestions. In selecting 20 photographs my decisions were based on my observations during 2005-2006, acquired knowledge of Hawaiian culture, Hawaiians' stories and research objectives. The final selections for the photographs for each activity were decided from the researcher's photographs and photographs suggested from community members of Hawai'i Island for 26 photographs instead of 20 for the pile sorting activity. These 26 photographs were then sorted by individual participants into two piles to determine what they saw as "Hawaiian" and "not Hawaiian."

In the pile sorting exercise, participants were asked to group items that belong together either according to "Hawaiian" or "not Hawaiian" or "Hawaiian nation" or "not Hawaiian nation." Participants chose to sort according to if they saw the image as "Hawaiian" or "not Hawaiian" often expressing an uncertainty about sorting the photographs into piles of "Hawaiian nation" or "not Hawaiian nation." After participants sorted the 26 photographs, I asked the participants to explain the basis for their choices. These will be discussed later in the chapter and in more detail in Chapter 5. Pile sorting was open to participant changes as the activity was intended to understand participants' perception of what they saw. There were two cases of participants sorting the photographs in another way. This was encouraged so participants could express their ways of knowing the visual elements of the public environment on Hawai'i Island. In one case, Arthur asked to alter the pile sorting activity to demonstrate a 'transitional flow' (Fig. 4.13). This was based on what he had seen through his life on the Big Island.

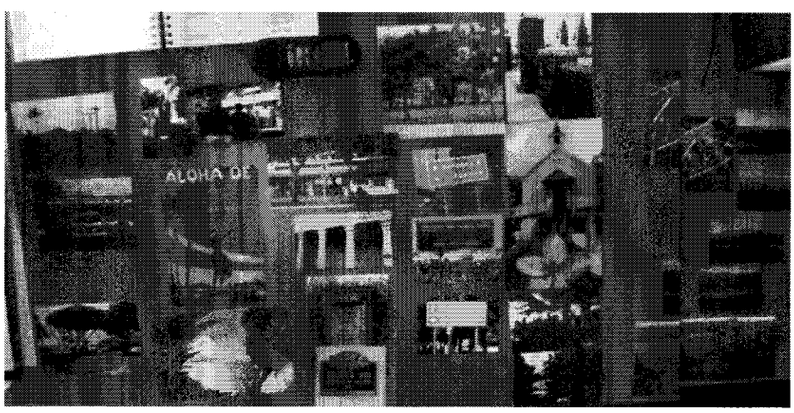

Figure 4.13 "Transitional Pile Sort"
Transitional sort by Arthur
(Photograph by Ashley Meredith 2009)

Leilani asked to alter the pile sorting activity according to her vision of Hawaiian culture. In the second form of pile sorting, Leilani explained she was '*piko* sorting'

because she saw the *piko* as the center of life in Hawaiian culture and everything in life was connected; because the *piko* connects the mother and her baby, she created a metaphor to explain how Hawaiian culture is connected to the language, the people, modernity, and nature. Leilani, therefore, arranged the photographs in a circular fashion, with she positioned the center of life positioned in the center (Fig. 4.14, respectively). There are five photographs in the center of the photographs laid out on the desk: the University of Hawai'i Hilo sign, fern seedling, Mauna Kea, Hawaiian style canoeing, and a lava rock and cement wall.

Figure 4.14 "*Piko* Sorting"
(*Piko* sorting by Leilani, Photograph by Ashley Meredith 2009)

The researcher did not reveal her object(s) of focus in specific images unless participants asked for clarification of an image's content(s). Clarification of objects in photographs was often requested for the photograph of Pohoiki with children having a snowball fight with snow from *Mauna Kea* (Fig. 4.15), Hawai'i State flag upside down (Fig. 4.16), and sometimes for the photograph of *Kīlauea 'iki* crater (Fig. 4.17) and ordering at Café 100 (Fig. 4.18) (photographs below).

Figure 4.15: *Poli'ahu* Meets *Kai*
Pol'iahu refers to the snow goddess of Mauna Kea and *kai* refers to the sea and seaside (Pukui and Elbert 1986:114). Some local people brought snow from the top of Mauna Kea (13,776 feet) for a snowball fight at Pohoiki, a local surf location. (Photograph by Ashley Meredith 2009)

Figure 4.16: Upside Down Hawaii Flag
An open air museum on Hawaiian history and culture. Kalapana, Puna District, Hawai'i Island
(Photograph by Ashley Meredith 2009)

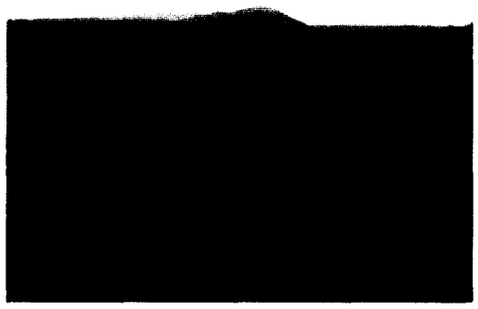

Figure 4.17: *Kīlauea 'iki*
(Photograph by Ashley Meredith 2009)

Figure 4.18: Ordering at Café 100
(Photograph by Ashley Meredith 2009)

Throughout the pile sorting activity, participants were asked to explain both their "Hawaiian" and "not Hawaiian" selections; it was observed that Hawaiians drew on memories with certain objects and knowledge from family members and Hawai'i residents recalled on their acquisition of Hawaiian culture. With Hawaiians, this is possibly a result of both family and possibly individual interest in Hawaiian culture; since the 60s and 70s, there has been a large cultural awakening for Hawaiian youth (Linnekin 1983) but according to one of my participants, A'ala, "as a people there is still so much more that we must bring back into our consciousness." This was a prevalent theme throughout the Hawaiian participants' data and progressively pursued by most participants; Hawaiians tended to point out 'traditionally Hawaiian' objects in the photographs as well as objects that could be part of Hawaiian identity or seen as a 'good start'. While Hawaiians expressed memories and familial education, Hawai'i residents tended to recall on their marked experiences with things they have seen Hawaiians doing, stories told by *Locals*, and education about Hawaiian culture and history from school or books. For example, Alfred said "I see Hawaiians by the water all the time, so anything by the water is definitely Hawaiian."

Hawaiian participants seemed very direct, certain, and assertive in their selections of what they saw as Hawaiian and not Hawaiian. For example, Noelani selected Fig.

4.19) (below), a photograph of *nā puamelia*[36] (plumeria flowers), as Hawaiian even as it is not indigenous to the Hawaiian Islands.

Figure 4.19: *Nā Puamelia*
Plumeria flowers (*Plumera obtusa*), *Hilo*, Hawai'i
(Photograph by Ashley Meredith 2009)

Noelani selected just three photographs as being Hawaiian, exclaiming the rest were definitely not Hawaiian. Her selections were quick and accompanied by a clear and attentive explanation. The researcher revealed that the flower is not indigenous to the Hawaiian Islands, as noted by A'ala and Keola who are relatives of Noelani. Noelani responded that it did not matter because it was pretty, she enjoyed the flower's fragrance and it is now in the Hawaiian Islands. Hawai'i residents did not sort the 26 photographs with as much speed and certainty, instead they drew on experiential education. Hawai'i residents presented a marked knowledge of Hawaiian culture and seemed easily influenced by new information from the researcher because of their desire to know and respect "the Hawaiian way." For example, Addison selected a photograph of a statue of King Kamehameha the Great as Hawaiian; however, when the I revealed that a Hawaiian did not see this statue as very Hawaiian because of the position of the statue's hand, that it was made by non-Hawaiians and was a byproduct of colonization, the participant changed her mind. She said the statue in the photograph was not Hawaiian. Nonetheless, in the pile sorting results tables the original selection is revealed to indicate original

[36] *Plumera obtusa.*

perceptions of Hawaiianness by each participant. Asking the initial question about Hawaiianess (what do you see as "Hawaiian" or "not Hawaiian") and then presenting a certain set of pictures as potentially representing Hawaiianness possibly had an additional influence on Addison's perceptions of Hawaiianness, in addition to the other participants. While Addison, a Hawai'i resident, highlights me as an influence in her perception of Hawaiianness in addition to the time it took for her to make a decision about a photograph, Hawaiians seemed to be very quick to place the images into the categories. Perhaps these Hawai'i residents are indicating that the Hawaiian-not-Hawaiian dichotomy presented to them was not something to which they usually give or feel like they need to give much thought.

Originally, I did not expect the results to show the participants divided into two separate groups. Because many Hawai'i residents take an active interest in Hawaiian culture, it seemed likely that their selections would be similar. However, when results were arranged in descending order based on the number of photographs each participant selected as Hawaiian, there was a clear difference. Hawaiian residents selected fewer photographs as "Hawaiian" than Hawai'i residents (Table 4.3, respectively). Therefore, the data were separated into two groups: Hawaiians and Hawai'i residents.

Table 4.3: Hawai'i Island Participants' Pile Sorting Results

Age →				40s	57	36	53	50+	20	31	33	28	50+	57	36	12	50+
Participant Names →						Leilani		Kamaka				Ke'ala	Kealoha	Ava	A'ala	Keola	Noelani
Photograph Captions	**Figure**	**CNT**	**%**														
Fishing with *Mauna Kea* in Bkgrd	4.41	13	93	■	■	■	■	■	■	■	■	■	■	■	■	■	
Hawaiian Canoeing w/ Apt. Bldg	4.39	13	93	■	■	■	■	■	■	■	■	■	■	■	■	■	
Swim @ Richardson's Beach Park	4.40 (5.3)	13	93	■	■	■	■	■	■	■	■	■	■	■	■	■	
canoe w/ MK bkgrd	5.4	13	93	■	■	■	■	■	■	■	■	■	■	■	■	■	
Nā Puamelia	4.19	12	86	■	■	■	■	■	■	■	■	■	■	■			■
Kamehameha Statue	5.5	12	86	■	■	■	■	■	■	■	■	■	■	■		■	
Kīlauea 'iki	4.1 (4.17)	12	86	■	■	■	■	■	■	■		■	■		■	■	■
UHH sign	5.6	12	86	■	■	■	■	■	■	■	■	■	■	■	■		
Hāpu'u shoot	5.2	11	79	■	■	■	■	■	■	■	■	■	■	■	■		■
Poli'ahu Meets *Kai*	4.15	10	71	■	■	■	■	■	■	■	■	■	■	■			
Café 100	4.18	10	71	■	■	■	■	■	■	■	■	■		■	■		
Hamakua Coast	5.15	10	71	■	■	■	■	■		■	■	■	■	■	■		
Honoka'a	5.16	10	71	■	■	■	■	■	■	■	■	■	■				
Honokaa	5.17	10	71	■	■	■	■	■	■	■	■	■	■				
Upside Down Hawaii Flag	4.16 (5.19)	10	71	■	■	■	■	■	■	■	■		■		■		
Aloha 'Oe Postcard	5.14	9	71	■	■	■		■	■		■		■	■		■	
Hilo Farmers' Market	5.7	8	57	■	■	■	■		■	■	■	■					
Kekaha Kai State Park	5.2	8	57	■	■	■	■	■	■	■						■	
Miloli'i Church	5.21	8	57	■	■	■	■	■		■	■						
Aloha Postcard	5.18	7	57	■	■	■		■	■			■	■	■			
Mo'oheau Bus Terminal	5.8	7	50	■	■	■	■		■		■		■	■			
Hilo Shopping Center	5.11	7	50	■	■	■	■				■	■	■	■			
Police Historic Site	5.9	7	50	■	■	■	■	■		■				■			
Hilo Bay with Power Lines	5.11	7	43	■	■	■	■	■			■		■				
East Hawai'i Cultural Center	5.12	6	43	■	■	■	■		■					■			
Lava Rock Wall	5.13	5	36	■	■	■	■			■							
# photos selected by each participant				26	26	26	24	21	20	20	18	18	17	14	9	8	3
Avg. # photos selected as Hawaiian										17.9 %							
% photos selected by each participant				100	100	100	92	81	77	77	69	69	62	54	35	31	12
% photos selected as Hawaiian				68.5 %													
Avg. # times photo selected		9.4 %															

Legend	
	Hawaiian
■	Hawai'i Resident
■	Selected as Hawaiian
	Selected as non-Hawaiian
CNT	Count

The scores generated from the pile sorting activity were (1) the range of the number of photographs selected as "Hawaiian" for each group, Hawaiians and Hawai'i residents, (2) the average number of photographs selected as Hawaiian by the two groups, and (3) the number of times each photograph was selected within the Hawaiian and Hawai'i residents groups. The number of times each photograph was selected was arranged in descending order, placing the photograph most frequently classified as "Hawaiian" at the top and the photograph least often chosen at the bottom. The range for the number of photographs seen as Hawaiian for Hawaiians was 23 (minimum 3, maximum 26) and for Hawai'i residents was 12 (minimum 14, maximum 26). The average number of photographs seen as Hawaiian by Hawaiians was 14.57 (55.7 percent) and 21.14 (81.3 percent) by Hawai'i residents. The range of the number of times each photograph was selected as Hawaiian by Hawaiians was 6 (minimum 1, maximum 7) and 3 (minimum 4, maximum 7) by Hawai'i residents. (Table 4.4 and 4.5, respectively).

Table 4.4: Hawaiians' Pile Sorting Results (most to least selected)

Descending Age →				36	50+	28	50+	36	12	50+		40s	57	53	20	31	33	57
Participant Names →				Leilani	Kamaka	Ke'ala	Kealoha	A'ala	Keola	Noelani		Ben	Addison	Arthur	Ethan	Alfred	Jacob	Ava
Photograph Captions	**Figure**	**CNT**	**%**	**Hawaiians**							**CNT**	**%**	**Hawai'i Residents**						
Kīlauea 'iki	4.1 (4.17)	7	100	■	■	■	■	■	■	■	5	71	■	■	■	■			
Hāpu'u Shoot	5.2	6	86	■	■	■	■	■		■	5	71	■	■	■	■			
Fishing with MK in Bkgrd	4.41	6	86	■	■	■	■	■	■		7	100	■	■	■	■	■	■	■
Canoeing with MK in Bkgrd	5.4	6	86	■	■	■	■	■	■		7	100	■	■	■	■	■	■	■
Swimming @ Richardson's	4.40 (5.3)	6	86	■	■	■	■	■	■		7	100	■	■	■	■	■	■	■
Hawaiian Canoeing w/ Apt. Bldg	4.39	6	86	■	■	■	■	■	■		7	100	■	■	■	■	■	■	■
Nā Puamelia	4.19	5	71	■	■	■	■			■	7	100	■	■	■	■	■	■	■
University of Hawai'i/HCC Sign	5.6	5	71	■	■	■	■	■			7	100	■	■	■	■	■	■	■
Kamehameha Statue	5.5	5	71	■	■	■	■		■		7	86	■	■	■	■	■	■	
Hamakua Coast	5.15	5	71	■	■	■	■	■			5	71	■	■	■		■		■
Poli'ahu Meets *Kai*	4.15	4	57	■	■	■	■				6	86	■	■	■	■	■		■
Honoka'a	5.16	4	57	■	■	■	■				6	86	■	■	■	■	■		■
Honokaa	5.17	4	57	■	■	■	■				6	86	■	■	■	■	■		■
Upside down Hawaii Flag	4.16 (5.19)	4	57	■	■	■		■			6	86	■	■	■	■	■		■
Aloha 'Oe Postcard	5.14	4	57	■	■	■	■		■		5	71	■	■	■		■	■	■
Café 100	4.18	3	43	■	■	■					7	100	■	■	■	■	■	■	■
Kekaha Kai State Park	5.2	3	43	■	■	■			■		5	71	■	■	■	■			
Aloha Postcard	5.18	3	43	■	■	■	■				4	71	■	■	■		■	■	■
Miloli'i Church	5.21	3	43	■	■	■					5	71	■	■	■	■		■	
Hilo Bay with Power Lines	5.10	3	29	■	■		■				4	57	■	■	■	■	■		
Hilo Farmers' Market	5.7	2	29	■		■					6	86	■	■	■	■	■		
Mo'oheau Bus Terminal	5.8	2	29	■		■					5	71	■	■	■	■		■	■
Hilo Shopping Center	5.11	2	29	■		■					5	71	■	■	■		■	■	■
Historic Site Police Station	5.9	2	29	■	■						5	71	■	■	■				■
East Hawai'i Cultural Center	5.12	1	14	■							5	71	■	■	■				■
Lava Rock Wall	5.13	1	14	■							4	57	■	■	■		■		
# photos selected/participant				26	21	18	17	9	8	3			26	26	24	20	20	18	14
Avg. # times each photo selected		3.92									5.69								
Avg. # photos selected as Hawaiian		14.6									21.1								

Legend	
■	Selected as "Hawaiian"
	Selected as "not Hawaiian"
CNT	Count

Table 4.5: Hawai'i Residents' Pile Sorting Results (most to least selected)

Descending Age →				36	50+	28	50+	36	12	50+		40s	57	53	20	31	33	57
Participants →				Leilani	Kamaka	Ke'ala	Kealoha	A'ala	Keola	Noelani		Ben	Addison	Arthur	Ethan	Alfred	Jacob	Ava
Photo Description	Figure	CNT	%	Hawaiians							CNT	%	Hawai'i Residents					
Fishing w/ Mauna Kea in Bkgrd	4.41	6	86	■	■	■	■	■	■		7	100	■	■	■	■	■	■
Hawaiian Canoeing w/ Apt.	4.39	6	86	■	■	■	■	■	■		7	100	■	■	■	■	■	■
Canoeing w/ MK in Bkgrd	5.4	6	86	■	■	■	■	■	■		7	100	■	■	■	■	■	■
Swimming at Richardson's	4.40 (5.3)	6	86	■	■	■	■	■	■		7	100	■	■	■	■	■	■
Nā Puamelia	4.19	5	71	■	■	■	■			■	7	100	■	■	■	■	■	■
Kamehameha Statue	5.5	5	71	■	■	■	■		■		7	100	■	■	■	■	■	■
Café 100	4.18	3	43	■	■	■					7	100	■	■	■	■	■	■
University of Hawai'i, HCC Sign	5.6	5	71	■	■	■	■	■			7	100	■	■	■	■	■	■
Hilo Farmers' Market	5.7	2	29								6	86	■	■	■	■	■	
Poli'ahu Meets *Kai*	4.15	4	57	■	■	■	■				6	86	■	■	■	■	■	
Honoka'a	5.16	4	57	■	■	■	■				6	86	■	■	■	■	■	
Honokaa	5.17	4	57	■	■	■	■				6	86	■	■	■	■	■	
Upside Down Hawaii Flag	4.16 (5.19)	4	57	■	■		■				6	86	■	■	■	■	■	
Aloha 'Oe Postcard	5.14	4	57	■	■		■		■	■	5	71	■	■		■		■
Kīlauea 'iki	4.1 (4.17)	7	100	■	■	■	■	■	■	■	5	71	■	■	■	■	■	■
Hāpu'u Shoot	5.2	6	86	■	■	■	■	■	■	■	5	71	■	■	■	■	■	■
Hamakua Coast	5.15	5	71	■	■	■	■	■	■		5	71	■	■	■	■	■	■
Kekaha Kai State Park	5.2	3	43	■	■				■		5	71	■	■	■	■	■	■
Miloli'i Church	5.21	3	43	■	■	■					5	71	■	■	■	■	■	■
Mo'oheau Bus Terminal	5.8	2	29	■		■					5	71	■	■	■	■	■	■
Hilo Shopping Center	5.11	2	29	■		■					5	71	■	■	■	■	■	■
Police Historic Site	5.9	2	29	■	■						5	71	■	■	■	■	■	■
East Hawai'i Cultural Center	5.12	1	14	■							5	71	■	■	■	■	■	■
Aloha Postcard	5.18	3	43	■	■		■				4	57	■	■		■	■	■
Hilo w/ Power Lines	5.10	3	29	■	■		■				4	57	■	■			■	
Lava Rock Wall	5.13	1	14	■							4	57	■	■	■			
# photos selected/participant				26	21	18	17	9	8	3			26	26	24	20	20	18	14
Avg. # times each photo selected		3.69									5.69							
vg. # photos selected as Hawaiian							14.6									21.1		

Legend	
	Selected
■	Not Selected
CNT	Count

The pile sorting means and standard deviations for Hawaiians and Hawai'i residents were as follows: the Hawaiian group selected a lower mean number of photographs as Hawaiian (M = 14.57, N = 7) than the participants in the Hawai'i residents group

(M = 21.14, N = 7) (Tables 4.4 and 4.5, respectively). The results from the pile sorting exercise indicated that there seemed to be differences in the number of photographs perceived to contain elements of Hawaiianness between Hawaiians and Hawai'i residents, $t(12) = 1.717$, $p < .1$. At the 90% confidence level, there seemed to be a difference between Hawaiians and Hawai'i residents. Nonetheless, the Hawaiians group had a significantly lower mean number of photographs selected as Hawaiian with a higher standard deviation (M = 14.57, SD = 8.14, N = 7), than the Hawai'i residents group (M = 21.14, SD = 4.45, N = 7). Relative to the Hawaiian group, the means and standard deviation of the Hawai'i residents group indicate that Hawai'i residents as a group have a narrow perception of Hawaiianness and Hawaiian identity because the photographs selected did not vary as much as the Hawaiian group. Relative to the Hawai'i residents group, Hawaiians as a group have a broad perception of Hawaiianness and Hawaiian identity because the photographs selected by each participant varied greatly. This concurs with Linnekin (2004) that the representations of Hawaiianness and Hawaiian culture encourage Hawai'i residents and visitors to construct differences and to think of Hawaiian culture in the same way: "the transnational distribution of identity merchandise encourages people to assert cultural difference, but to conceptualize this difference *in the same way* (336)."

4.4 The Seven Category Tests

The seven category tests controlled-task research was used to develop a baseline to understanding aspects of Hawaiianness and Hawaiian identity. From the category tests, results indicate an overall difference in perceptions of Hawaiianness between Hawaiians and Hawai'i residents. Hawaiians selected photographs with more traditional inheritance and contemporary culture while Hawai'i residents selected photographs based on their knowledge of Hawaiian culture. Traditional inheritance refers to images of objects with a relationship to Hawaiian culture in the past carried to the present.

In a series of seven tests, participants were asked to select the photo that was the best representation of being Hawaiian from a set of three or more photographs. After the

selection of one photograph, the participant was asked to explain her/his choice as well as why s/he did not select one of the remaining photographs from the categories. Initially, the plan was to use triad tests consisting of three photographs, but based on comments by the first two participants, Hawaiian culture could not be reduced to a choice of one from three. The change from three photographs from which to choose to three or more elicited more information because the participants were asked to explain why or why not they selected a photograph and they often explained connections leading up to their selection of a photograph.

Hawaiians and Hawai'i residents converged at their selections in the "street signs" and "directive signs" category tests. For the 'street signs' category test (four photographs), five out of six Hawaiians saw the image with Hāwī on a green sign in white lettering as most Hawaiian Figure 4.20. The remaining participant did not see any of the street signs as Hawaiian and did not choose any photograph as 'most Hawaiian'. For Hawai'i residents, four saw the image with Hāwī on a green sign in white lettering as most Hawaiian (Fig. 4.20), followed by one participant who saw the image with "Hoku"[37] and "Kilauea"[38] (Fig. 4.21) in it as most Hawaiian. Other photographs options in the 'street signs' category were of a sign reading "Bishop St." (Fig. 4.22) and "Hamakua Coast Downtown" (Fig. 4.23); these photographs were not selected by any participant. (Table 4.6 and figures below).

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[37] *Hoku* could mean 'star' or 'night of the full moon'. It is not clear whether the word should contain a *kahakō* over the vowels and depends on the manufacture date of the sign. Recently manufactured signs contain Hawaiian macrons, *ka 'okina* and *ke kahakō* while older signs do not.

[38] Hawaiian name of caldera in Hawai'i volcanoes National Park.

Table 4.6: "Street Signs" Category Test

Age →				50+	12	28	50+	36	50+	57	57	31	33	53	20	40s		
Participants →				Kamaka	Keola	Ke'ala	Leilani	A'ala	Noelani	Addison	Ava	Alfred	Jacob	Arthur	Ethan	Ben		
Photograph Captions	**Fig.**	**CNT**	**%**	**Hawaiians**						**Hawai'i Residents**							**CNT**	**%**
Hāwī with Kahakō	4.20	5	83	■		■	■	■	■	■			■	■	■	■	4	67
Hoku-Kilauea Ave	4.21	0	0									■					1	17
Bishop Street	4.22	0	0														0	0
Hamakua Coast Sign	4.23	0	0														0	0

Legend
■ Selected
Not Selected
Most Selected
■ Not Available

Figure 4.20: Hāwī with *Kahakō*
Green metal sign with white lettering; Hawaiian words with Hawaiian language macrons and a local person in the foreground
(Photograph by Ashley Meredith 2009)

Figure 4.21: *Hoku-Kīlauea*
(Photograph by Ashley Meredith 2009)

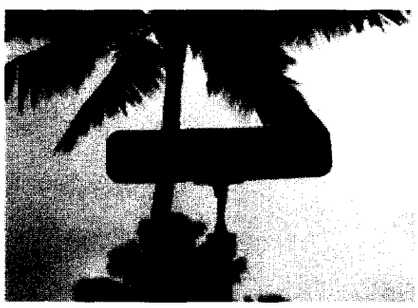

Figure 4.22: Bishop Street
(Photograph by Ashley Meredith 2009)

Figure 4.23: *Hamakua* Coast
(Photograph by Ashley Meredith 2009)

The 'directive signs' refers to signs that direct people living in the Hawaiian Islands and visitors alike to make the action as described on the sign. Two signs with *mahalo* (thank you) fit into this category because of the placement of the word could be interpreted as a required or requested action. For example, *mahalo* on one on the trash can could be interpreted by individuals to put their trash into the garbage receptacle while the another one on the drive-thru exit could be interpreted as "time to go" after a consumer has paid for their food. Other signs I interpreted as requesting or requiring an action from a visitor or someone living in the islands included a sign for keeping people off of a burial site, quieting big trucks through a small town, prohibited eating in the owner's store, and requesting visitors to Mahana Bay not to take the sand with them.

This category test (six photographs) yielded four out of six Hawaiian participants selecting the image of a state protected burial site as most Hawaiian (Figure 4.24. The remaining two Hawaiian participants did not see any of objects in the photographs as

Hawaiian. For Hawai'i residents, four out of seven participants saw the image of a state protected burial site as most Hawaiian (Fig. 4.24) (Table 4.7 and figures, respectively).

Figure 4.24: *Pu'u Ali'i*
"Pu'u Ali'i Sand Dune site (H1), which is an early Native Hawaiian fishing village and burial area dating to pre-European contact" (National Park Service 2010:1), *Ka'u* District, Hawai'i (Photograph by Ashley Meredith 2009)

For the remaining two participants, one saw the image of an directive sign reading "*mahalo*" (thank you) on a trash can (Figure 4.25) and the other saw the image of an directive sign reading "*kokua*" (please) (Figure 4.26) for not making loud noises with engine brakes through a residential area (as most Hawaiian). Other photographs in this category, but not selected by any participants, were of signs reading "mahalo" (Figure 4.27 at a drive thru exit, "Welcome to Mahana Bay. Please do not take the sand. ~ The *Locals*," (Figure 4.28) and "Kokua-no food please" (Figure 4.29). (Table 4.7 and photographs, respectively).

Table 4.7: "Directive Signs" Category Test

Age →				50+	12	28	50+	36	50+	57	57	31	33	53	20	40s		
Participants →				Kamaka	Keola	Ke'ala	Leilani	A'ala	Noelani	Addison	Ava	Alfred	Jacob	Arthur	Ethan	Ben		
Photograph Captions	**Fig.**	**CNT**	**%**	**Hawaiians**						**Hawai'i Residents**							**CNT**	**%**
Mahalo-Trashcan	4.25	0	0												■		1	14
Mahalo-Drive Thru	4.27	0	0														0	0
Welcome to Mahana Bay	4.29	0	0														0	0
Kokua-no food	4.26	0	0														0	0
Trucks! Please Kokua No Noise	4.28	0	0									■					1	14
Burial site-state protected	4.24	4	67	■		■	■		■	■			■	■		■	4	57

Legend
■ Selected
Not Selected
Most Selected
■ Not Available

Figure 4.25: *Mahalo*-Trashcan
Waimea, Kohala District, Hawai'i
(Photograph by Ashley Meredith 2009)

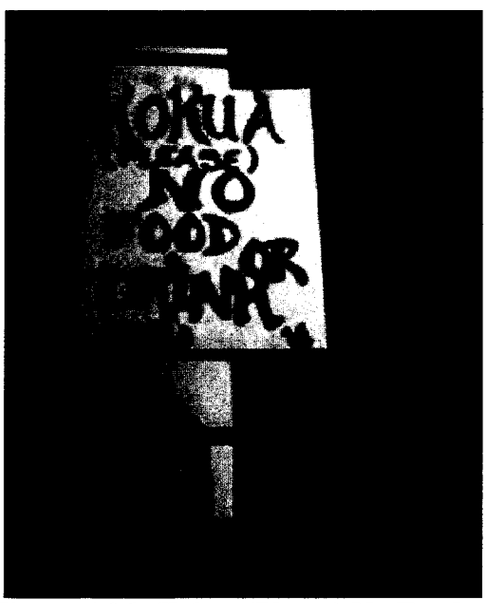

Figure 4.26: *Kokua* (Please) No Food or Drink, *Mahalo*
Kona, Hawai'i (Photograph by Ashley Meredith 2009)

Figure 4.27: *Mahalo*-Drive Thru
Waimea, Kohala District, Hawai'i
(Photograph by Ashley Meredith 2009)

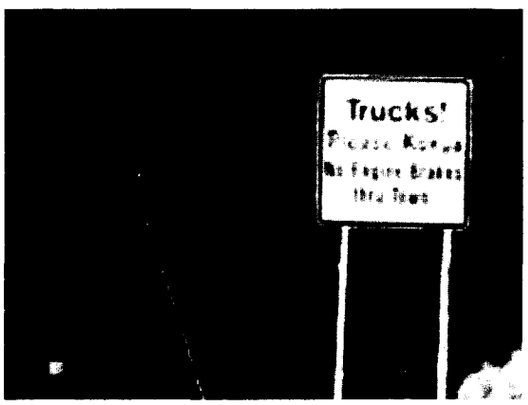

Figure 4.28: Trucks! Please *Kokua* No Noise
"Trucks! Please Kokua. No Engine Brakes thru Town," near Waimea, Kohala District, Hawai'i
(Photograph by Ashley Meredith 2009)

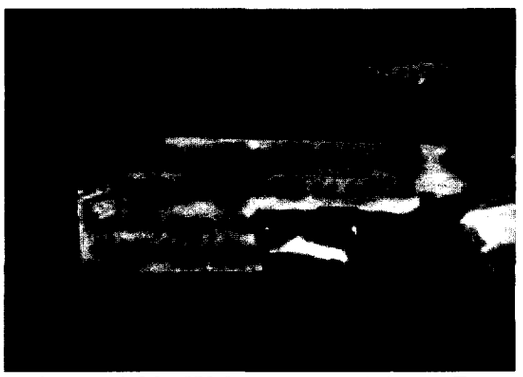

Figure 4.29: Welcome to *Mahana* Bay
"Welcome to Mahana Bay. Please do not take the sand or graffiti the walls. Mahalo, the Locals."
(Photograph by Ashley Meredith 2009)

The 'advertisements' category refers to any sign that promotes a product. For the 'advertisements' category test (nine photographs), two out of five Hawaiian participants saw the advertisement of a Hawaiian family adopting a portion of the highway on Hawai'i Island as most Hawaiian (Fig. 4.30). One Hawaiian participant saw a bumper sticker on a car that read "Kau Inoa"[39] (Fig. 4.31) while another Hawaiian participant saw an advertisement for local foods at Café 100 (Fig. 4.32) as most Hawaiian. Noelani did not see any of the advertisements as Hawaiian. For Hawai'i residents, three out of seven participants saw an advertisement for Verna's restaurant (Fig. 4.33) as most Hawaiian. Two participants saw an advertisement for a Hawaiian owned kayak rental business (Fig. 4.34) as most Hawaiian. One participant saw a bumper sticker on a car that read "Kau Inoa" (Fig. 4.31) as most Hawaiian while another participant saw an advertisement for local foods at Café 100 (Fig. 4.32) as most Hawaiian. Other photographs in this category, but not selected by any participants, were of a sign for "Leilani Bakery" (Fig. 4.35), a sign for the Vitamin Shoppe with a mosaic depicting Hawaiian style canoeing (Fig. 4.36 and 4.37), and a sign for "Lehua Jewelers," named after the *lehua*[40] flower (the flower of the *'ōhi'a* tree) (Fig. 4.38). (Table 4.8 and photographs, respectively).

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[39] *Kau Inoa* means "your name"; it is a movement initiated by the Office of Hawaiian Affairs to acquire the names of Hawaiians with Hawaiian *koko* 'blood'.

[40] The *lehua* flower is part of the *'ōhi'a* tree, together they are *'ōhi'a lehua* (*Metrosideros polymorpha*) (Pukui and Elbert 1986:199).

Table 4.8: "Advertisements" Category Test

Age →				50+	12	28	50+	36	50+	57	57	31	33	53	20	40s		
Participants →				Kamaka	Keola	Ke'ala	Leilani	A'ala	Noelani	Addison	Ava	Alfred	Jacob	Arthur	Ethan	Ben		
Photograph Captions	**Fig.**	**CNT**	**%**	**Hawaiians**						**Hawai'i Residents**							**CNT**	**%**
Verna's	4.33	0	0			■							■	■		■	3	43
Wa'a mosaic	4.37	0	0			■											0	0
Leilani Bakery	4.35	0	0			■											0	0
Vitamin Shoppe	4.36	0	0			■											0	0
O'hana Adopt a Highway	4.30	2	40			■	■		■								0	0
Ehu & Kai Kayak Rentals	4.34	0	0			■				■		■					2	28
Kau Inoa Bumper Sticker	4.31	1	20	■		■									■		1	14
Lehua Jewelers	4.38	0	0			■											0	0
Café 100	4.32	1	20			■		■			■						1	14

Legend
■ Selected
Not Selected
Most Selected
■ Not Available

Figure 4.30: *O'hana* Adopt a Highway
"Adopt a Highway Litter Control Next 2 Miles, *Ohana* Kaula" (Photograph by Ashley Meredith 2009)

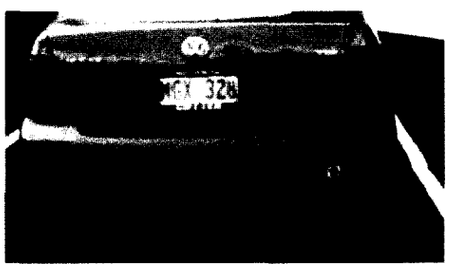

Figure 4.31: *Kau Inoa* Bumper Sticker
(Photograph by Ashley Meredith 2009)

Figure 4.32: Café 100
Hilo, Hawai'i (Photograph by Ashley Meredith 2009)

Figure 4.33: Verna's
"If no can, no can, if can, Verna's" (If a food can't be made, then it just can't be done, but if it's possible, then Verna's can make it), Hilo, Hawai'i
(Photograph by Ashley Meredith 2009)

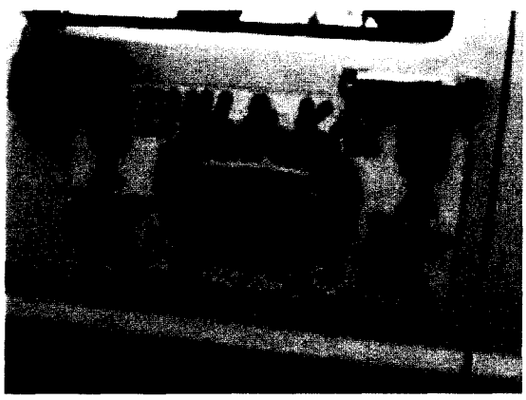

Figure 4.34: Ehu & Kai Kayak Rentals
Miloli'i, Ka'u District, Hawai'i
(Photograph by Ashley Meredith 2009)

Figure 4.35: Leilani Bakery
Waimea, Kohala District, Hawai'i
(Photograph by Ashley Meredith 2009)

Figure 4.36: Vitamin Shoppe
Kona District, Hawai'i
(Photograph by Ashley Meredith 2009)

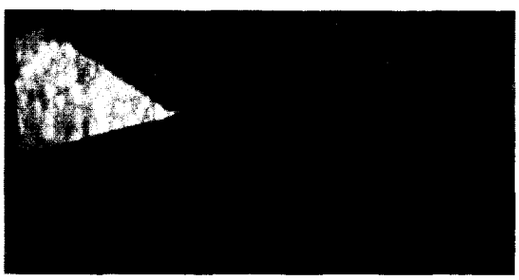

Figure 4.37: *Wa'a* Mosaic
Mosaic of *wa'a*
(traditional Hawaiian canoe); close-up of mosaic underneath "The Vitamin Shoppe" sign in Figure 4.36)
(Photographs by Ashley Meredith 2009)

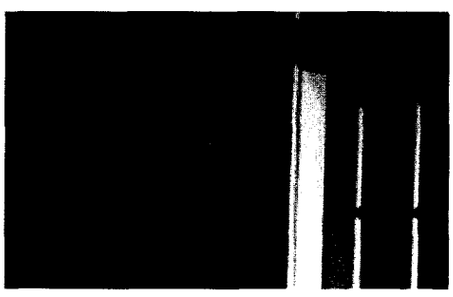

Figure 4.38: *Lehua* Jewelers
Waimea, Kohala District, Hawai'i
(Photograph by Ashley Meredith 2009)

The 'activities' category refers to the activities that can be seen in the public environment, such as fishing, swimming, and Hawaiian style canoeing. As mentioned earlier, surfing is an activity seen in the public environment but excluded because For the activities category test (three photographs), three out of six Hawaiian participants selected the image of Hawaiian style canoeing (Fig. 4.39, below) and two Hawaiian participants saw people swimming at Richardson's Beach Park with the mountain *Mauna Kea* in the background (Fig. 4.40) as Hawaiian. Noelani did not see any of the photographs available in this category as Hawaiian. For Hawai'i residents, six out of seven participants saw the photograph with men fishing off of the shore with the mountain *Mauna Kea* in the background as Hawaiian (Fig. 4.41). The remaining participant saw the Hawaiian style canoeing image with the mountain *Mauna Kea* in the background (Fig. 4.39) as most Hawaiian. While each of the three images were selected at least once between the two groups of participants, Hawaiians did not see the man fishing with the mountain *Mauna Kea* in the background as Hawaiian (Fig. 4.41) and Hawai'i residents did not see people swimming at Richardson's Beach Park with *Mauna Kea* (Fig. 4.40) in the background as most Hawaiian. (See Table 4.9 and corresponding photographs, respectively).

Table 4.9: "Activities" Category Test

Age →				**50+**	**12**	**28**	**50+**	**36**	**50+**	**57**	**57**	**31**	**33**	**53**	**20**	**40s**		
Participants →				Kamaka	Keola	Ke'ala	Leilani	A'ala	Noelani	Addison	Ava	Alfred	Jacob	Arthur	Ethan	Ben		
Photograph Captions	**Fig.**	**CNT**	**%**	**Hawaiians**						**Hawai'i Residents**							**CNT**	**%**
Hawaiian Canoe w/ Apt. Bldg.	4.39	3															1	14
Swim @ Richardson's, MK Bkgrd	4.40 (5.3)	2	33														0	0
Fishing w/ MK bkgrd	4.41	0	0														6	

Legend
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Not Selected
Most Selected
Not Available

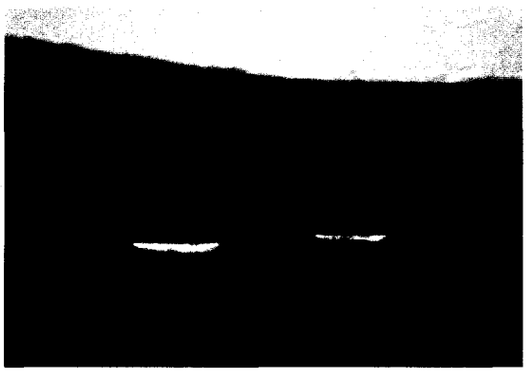

Figure 4.39: Hawaiian Canoeing with Apartment Building
Hilo Bay, Hawai'i (Photograph by Ashley Meredith 2009)

Figure 4.40: Swimming at Richardson's with *Mauna Kea* in the Background
(Photograph by Ashley Meredith 2009)

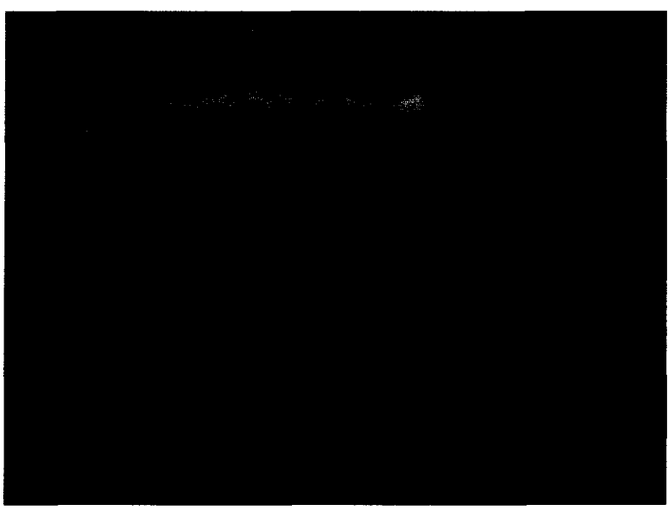

Figure 4.41: Fishing with *Mauna Kea* in the Background
(Photograph by Ashley Meredith 2009)

The 'flowers' category test (three photographs) was derived from flowers I had seen around Hawai'i Island. The *lehua* flower was not added until one of my collaborators pointed out that it referred to Pele the Volcano Goddess. Six Hawaiian participants saw the photograph of the *lehua* flower (Fig. 4.42) as most Hawaiian. Of the Hawai'i residents, three participants saw the image of the *naupaka*[41] flower (Fig. 4.43) as most Hawaiian, two saw the *lehua* as most Hawaiian, and two saw the bird of paradise flower[42] (Fig. 4.44) as Hawaiian. (See Table 4.10 and corresponding photographs below).

Table 4.10: "Flowers" Category Test

Age →				**50+**	**12**	**28**	**50+**	**36**	**50+**	**57**	**57**	**31**	**33**	**53**	**20**	**40s**		
Participants →				Kamaka	Keola	Ke'ala	Leilani	A'ala	Noelani	Addison	Ava	Alfred	Jacob	Arthur	Ethan	Ben		
Photograph Captions	**Fig.**	**CNT**	**%**	**Hawaiians**						**Hawai'i Residents**							**CNT**	**%**
Lehua and 'Ōhi'a	4.42	6	100	■	■	■	■	■	■				■			■	2	28
Naupaka	4.43	0	0							■		■		■			3	43
Bird of Paradise	4.44	0	0								■				■		2	28

Legend
■ Selected
Not Selected
Most Selected
■ Not Available

[41] *Scaevola.* "Native species of shrubs found in mountains and near coasts, conspicuous for their white or light-colored flowers that look like half flowers" (Pukui and Elbert 1986:263).

[42] *Strelitzia reginae.*

Figure 4.42: *Lehua* and *'Ōhi'a*
(*Metrosideros polymorpha*), Hawai'i Volcanoes National Park
(Photograph by Ashley Meredith 2009)

Figure 4.43: *Naupaka*
(*Scaevola*), Hilo, Hawai'i
(Photograph by Ashley Meredith 2009)

Figure 4.44: Bird of Paradise
(*Strelitzia reginae*), Hilo, Hawai'i
(Photograph by Ashley Meredith 2009)

The 'land' category refers to landscapes seen in Hilo and Puna Districts. Through my education at the University of Hawai'i in Hilo and network of friends, I learned many of these places are marked as Hawaiian. Additionally, I attempted to capture some Hawaiian landscapes with elements of a built environment, such as the roof of a gas

station and the petroglyphs. The 'land' category test consisted of landscape images as the object of focus, such as Rainbow Falls in Hilo (Fig. 4.45), Hilo Bay in the background without power lines in the foreground (Fig. 4.46), the rainforest (Fig. 4.47), an offering in the foreground and ocean in the background (Fig. 4.48), lava flowing into the ocean (Fig. 4.49), tropical fish under water (Fig. 4.50), a sunset in the horizon (taken near *Miloli'i*) (Fig. 4.51), *Mauna Kea* landscape (Fig. 4.52), *Mauna Kea* in the background with canoes in the foreground (Fig. 4.53), the mountain *Mauna Kea* in the background with a gas station in the foreground (Figure 4.54), and petroglyphs (Fig. 4.55, Fig. 4.56). For the 'land' category test (12 photographs), two participants out of six saw the photograph of the rain forest (Figure 4.47) as most Hawaiian while two other participants saw the image of a petroglyph of the Hawaiian *piko* (Fig. 4.45) as most Hawaiian. One participant saw an image of the lava flow into the ocean as most Hawaiian while one other saw a photograph with the mountain *Mauna Kea* and Hawaiian canoes (Fig. 4.53) as most Hawaiian. For Hawai'i residents, three participants out of seven saw the image of the offering with ocean water in the background (Fig. 4.48) as most Hawaiian. Two participants saw *Mauna Kea* in the background and canoes (Fig. 4.53) in the foreground as most Hawaiian. One participant saw the under water image of fish (Fig. 4.50) as most Hawaiian. Another participant saw the image of a petroglyph of the *piko* (Fig. 4.55) as most Hawaiian. Other photographs in this category, but not selected by any participants, were of Rainbow Falls (Fig. 4.45), Hilo Bay without power lines in the foreground (Fig. 4.46), a sunset in the horizon (Fig. 4.51), *Mauna Kea* landscape (Fig. 4.52), *Mauna Kea* in the background and gas station in the foreground (Fig. 4.54), and a petroglyph of *he kanaka* (mankind) (Fig 4.56). (See Table 4.11 and corresponding photographs below).

Table 4.11: "Land" Category Test

Age →				50+	12	28	50+	36	50+	57	57	31	33	53	20	40s		
Participants →				Kamaka	Keola	Ke'ala	Leilani	A'ala	Noelani	Addison	Ava	Alfred	Jacob	Arthur	Ethan	Ben		
Photograph Captions	**Fig.**	**CNT**	**%**	**Hawaiians**						**Hawai'i Residents**							**CNT**	**%**
Rainbow Falls	4.45	0	0														0	0
Hilo Bay without Power Lines	4.46	0	0														0	0
Rain Forest	4.47	2					■		■								0	0
Offering/Memorial	4.48	0	0							■		■		■			3	
New Land-lava Flow	4.49	1	16			■											0	0
fish in ocean	4.50	0	0												■		1	14
Miloli`I sunset	4.51	0	0														0	0
Canoeing in Hilo Bay w/ MK	4.52	0	0														0	0
Canoeing in Hilo Bayfront	4.53	1	16					■			■					■	2	28
Gas Station w/ MK in Bkgrd	4.54	0	0														0	0
"Piko" Petroglyph	4.55	2		■	■								■				1	14
"Man" Petroglyph	4.56	0	0														0	0

Legend
■ Selected
Not Selected
Most Selected
■ Not Available

Figure 4.45: Rainbow Falls
Hilo, Hawai'i (Photograph by Ashley Meredith 2009)

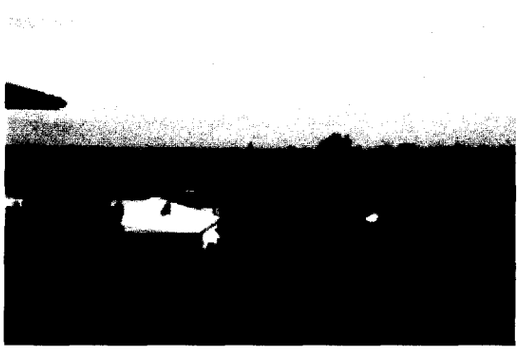

Figure 4.46: Hilo **Bay without Power Lines**
Hilo, Hawai'i (Photograph by Ashley Meredith 2009)

Figure 4.47: Rainforest
Hawai'i Volcanoes National Park, Volcano, Ka'u-Puna Districts, Hawaiian Islands
(Photograph by Ashley Meredith 2009)

Figure 4.48: Offering/Memorial
Pohoiki, Puna District, Hawai'i
(Photograph by Ashley Meredith 2009)

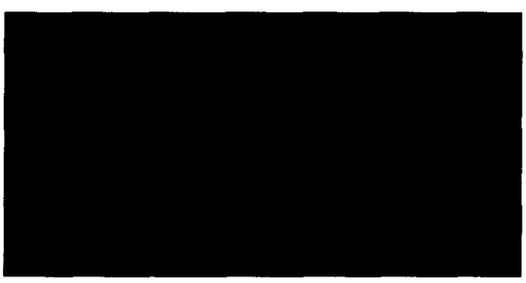

Figure 4.49: New Land-Lava Flow
Kalapana, Puna District, Hawai'i
(Photograph by Ashley Meredith 2009)

Figure 4.50: Fish in Ocean
Richardson's Beach Park, Hilo, Hawai'i
(Photograph by Ashley Meredith 2009)

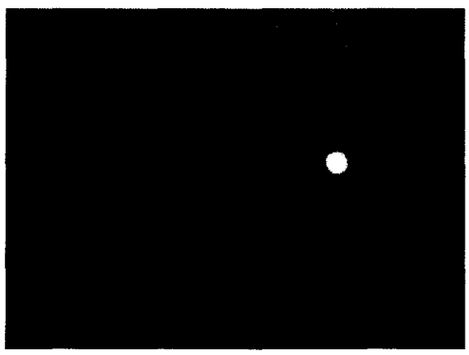

Figure 4.51: Miloli'i Sunset
Miloli'i, Ka'u District, Hawai'i
(Photograph by Ashley Meredith 2009)

Figure 4.52: Canoeing in Hilo Bay with *Mauna Kea* in the Background
Hilo Bay, Hilo District, Hawai'i
(Photograph by Ashley Meredith 2009)

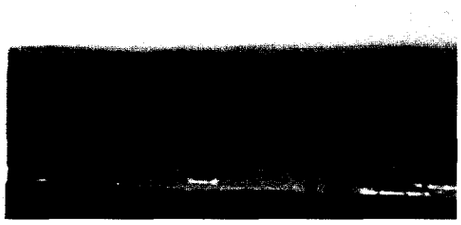

Figure 4.53: Canoeing in Hilo Bayfront
Hilo Bay, Hilo District, Hawai'i
(Photograph by Ashley Meredith 2009)

Figure 4.54: Gas Station with *Mauna Kea* in the Background
Hilo, Hilo District, Hawai'i
(Photograph by Ashley Meredith 2009)

Figure 4.55: *Piko* Petroglyph
Hawai'i Volcanoes National Park, Volcano, Ka'u-Puna Districts, Hawai'i
(Photograph by Ashley Meredith 2009)

Figure 4.56: *Kanaka* Petroglyph
Hawai'i Volcanoes National Park, Volcano, Ka'u-Puna Districts, Hawai'i
(Photograph by Ashley Meredith 2009)

The 'language' category refers to images of the language varieties commonly spoken or seen on Hawai'i Island, including Hawaiian, Pidgin, and English. The 'language' category consisted of images of signs with Hawaiian Pidgin, or English language used, such as "*Hale Kaulike*" (Judicial House) (Fig. 4.57), "*Hale Aloha O* Hilo" (Hilo House of Love) (Fig. 4.58), a note using "*aloha*"[43] (Fig. 4.59), " Happy New Year/*Hau'oli Makahiki Hou*" (happy new year) (Fig. 4.60), and "*If no can... no can... if can... Verna's*" (If a food can't be made, then it just can't be done, but if it's possible, then Verna's can make it) (Fig. 4.61). These were selected also based on the placement of the Hawaiian and Pidgin languages, especially if English was present. Three out of six Hawaiian participants saw the image of the note using "*aloha*" (Fig. 4.59) as most Hawaiian. One participant saw the image with "*Hale Kaulike*" (Fig. 4.57) as most

[43] *Aloha* has many meanings in the Hawaiian language and is often thought to have just one in the English language; however, it can mean 'love', 'compassion', 'affection', 'kindness', 'sentiment' and 'sympathy', just to name a few. Refer to the Hawaiian dictionary website, www.wehewehe.org, for a continued definition. Participants repeatedly referred me to this website as it was their preferred site for looking up Hawiian words including aloha.

Hawaiian. One Hawaiian participant saw the image of "If no can... no can... if can...Verna's" (Fig. 4.61) as most Hawaiian. One Hawaiian participant saw the image of the bilingual '*Happy New Year/Hau'oli Makahiki Hou*' (Fig. 4.60) as most Hawaiian. For Hawai'i residents, four out of seven participants saw the image of *Verna's advertisement, "If no can... no can... if can...Verna's*" (Fig. 4.61) as most Hawaiian. Two participants saw the image with "*Hale Kaulike*" (Fig. 4.57) as most Hawaiian. One participant saw the image of the bilingual "Happy New Year/*Hau'oli Makahiki Hou*" (Fig. 4.60) as most Hawaiian. A photograph in this category, but not selected by any participants, was of "*Hale Aloha O Hilo*" (Fig. 4.58). (Table 12 and photographs, respectively).

Table 4.12: "Language" Category Test

Age →				**50+**	**12**	**28**	**50+**	**36**	**50+**	**57**	**57**	**31**	**33**	**53**	**20**	**40s**		
Participants →				Kamaka	Keola	Ke'ala	Leilani	A'ala	Noelani	Addison	Ava	Alfred	Jacob	Arthur	Ethan	Ben		
Photograph Captions	**Fig.**	**CNT**	**%**	**Hawaiians**						**Hawai'i Residents**							**CNT**	**%**
Verna's Advertising	4.61	1	16			■			■	■		■	■	■			4	▒
Hale Kaulike	4.57	1	16		■	■									■	■	2	28
Hale Aloha O Hilo	4.58	0	0			■											0	0
Aloha letter	4.59	3	▒	■		■	■	■									0	0
Bilingual Happy New Year	4.60	0	16			■					■						1	14

Legend
■ Selected
Not Selected
▒ Most Selected
■ Not Available

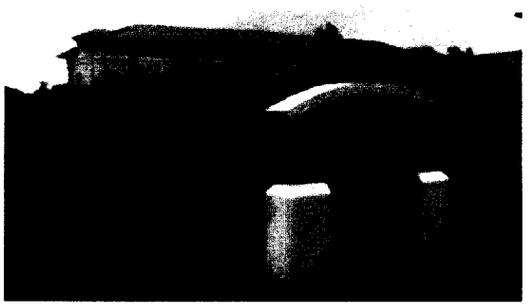

Figure 4.57: Hale Kaulike
Hale Kaulike (Judicial House), Hilo, Hilo District, Hawai'i
(Photograph by Ashley Meredith 2009)

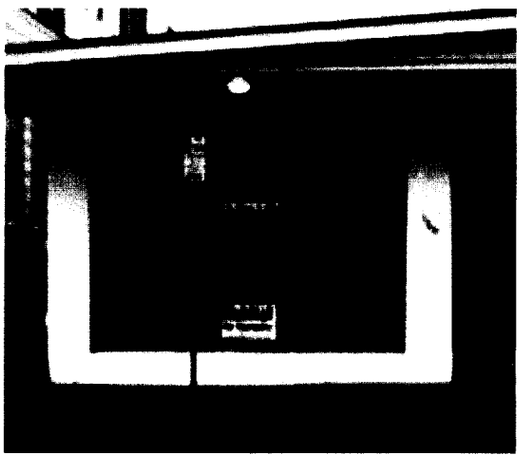

Figure 4.58: Hale Aloha O Hilo
Hale Aloha O Hilo (Hilo House of Care), Hilo District, Hawai'i
(Photograph by Ashley Meredith 2009)

Figure 4.59: Aloha Letter
(Photograph by Ashley Meredith 2009)

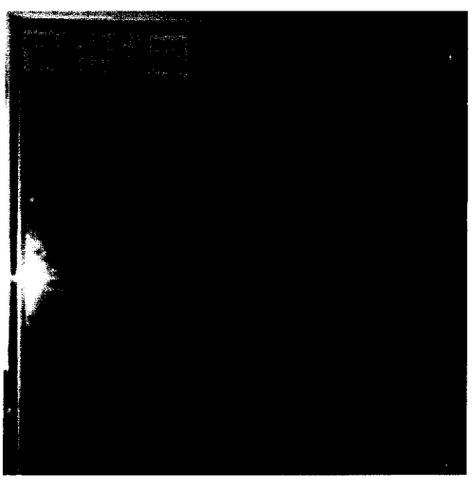

Figure 4.60: Bilingual Happy New Year
(Photograph by Ashley Meredith 2009)

Figure 4.61: Verna's Advertising
Hilo Bayfront, Hilo District, Hawai'i
(Photograph by Ashley Meredith 2009)

4.5 Major themes

The semi-structured interviews provided a wealth of information about to participant's perceptions of what is and is not Hawaiian in the visual elements of her/his public environment. During the interviews, participants first shared what they saw as Hawaiian with the researcher through their photographic observations, then participants explained what they saw in their selections of photographs as 'Hawaiian' and 'not Hawaiian' and why they considered the visual element(s) 'Hawaiian' and 'not Hawaiian'. Three major categories explanations of photographic selections will be discussed in Chapter 5: photo composition, content and general participant responses. "Content" themes emerged from the photograph rankings from Tables 4.4 and 4.5–not specifically from what participants said directly to the researcher but as a result of arranging the photographs from most selected to least selected. "Subject composition" themes emerged from participants' discussions of their perceptions of the photographs and relative importance of components and aspects. The "participants' responses" themes emerged from data collected from the semi-structured interviews preceding and following the three activities as well as from participants' explanations for why they selected the photograph as "Hawaiian" or "not Hawaiian."

Chapter 5: Perceptions of Hawaiianness

"We do not see things the way they are; we see them the way *we* are."

~Richard Wilk (2007:1)

A central concern of Hawaiians in the Hawaiian Islands is that the Hawaiian landscape barely reflects their existence and presence in their indigenous lands. As discussed in Chapter 2 and 3, various studies have indicated the cultural effects of westernism, tourism, state definitions, and identity politics. Specific examples of these effects include (1) the arrival of westerners in the Hawaiian Islands marked the decline of the Hawaiian population in the islands, (2) diminishing Hawaiian language use and the downfall of the Hawaiian Kingdom coupled with contemporary tourism presenting a "dead" nativism of Hawaiians and Hawaiian culture (Halualani 2002), (3) the federal government's 50 percent blood quantum rule which decides who is or is not Hawaiian (Kauanui 2008; Halualani 2002), and (4) descendants of immigrants from the plantation era as well as persons living in the islands for an extended period of time have claimed rights to being Hawaiian (Halualani 2002). Through semi-structured interviews involving photographic observation and photograph elicitation, the purpose of this study was to (1) identify the visual elements of the public environment that residents of Hawai'i Island perceive as "Hawaiian" or "not Hawaiian," (2) gain a deeper understanding of the underpinnings justifying participants' perceptions, and (3) provide information useful to Hawaiians seeking to change current perceptions, policies, and political definitions for Hawaiians and Hawaiian lands. Throughout this chapter, I will elucidate the visual elements of the public environment that Hawaiians and Hawai'i residents see as "Hawaiian" or "not Hawaiian" in the public environment of Hawai'i Island and why this study group of residents regard them as "Hawaiian" or "not Hawaiian."

5.1 Walk-through Images in Narrative Context

The most frequently cited themes in participants' photographic observations and explanations of their observations were broadly characterized as: culture, nature, activity, signage, written language, and people. (The details for each category will be discussed in

the following paragraphs). I did not ascertain much contrast between any of the participants regarding photograph composition; this could be related to the type of people who move to Hawai'i Island. During initial observations in 2005-6 many of the people living on Hawai'i Island indicated they have a deep respect for the land through their support of a local economy and business practices and prefer Hawai'i Island because of its natural appearance and rugged, relatively unexplored, terrain. This is in sharp contrast to the other residents who have moved to Hawai'i Island for real estate or to become involved in the tourism industry. According to the Hawai'i Visitor & Convention Bureau, Hawai'i Island is considered "Hawai'i's island of adventure" and it advertises sustainable travel on the Big Island (Hawaii Visitors and Convention Bureau 2009). Sustainable travel or tourism is often confused with ecotourism but its more commonly associated with reducing negative impacts on the environment and local culture while still providing jobs and benefitting the local economy. "Hawai'i's island of adventure," for tourists, refers to the helicopter tours, possible trek on *Kīlauea* in Hawai'i Volcanoes National Park, and sometimes *Mahana* Bay. However, for residents, " Hawai'i's Island of Adventure" means access to places where tourists do not know to go or would not put the effort into going because the terrain introduces unfamiliar challenges for them.

While no obvious difference could be seen in the photographs, the difference emerged from participants' explanations of why they saw the objects they photographed as Hawaiian. Participants photographed land features, people, cars, nature, and sometimes signage; however, I noticed a difference in photographic observations and participants' corresponding explanations for the photographs. I did not begin with the expectation that the results would divide into "Hawaiians" – "Hawai'i residents" sets of data—at least not more sorted than by gender or age. There are three examples to illustrate some of the differences in photograph content explanations made by participants.

The first example 1, Kamaka created Figure 4.6 showing the Naha Stone, which is reputed to have been lifted by King Kamehameha the Great. The photograph included the

Hilo Public Library and accompanying sign, as well as a small parking lot. A similar photograph taken by Alfred showed a truck, the ocean and lava rock landscape, and some people by the water–Hawaiians, as my participant pointed out. They both contain built elements as well as some nature. Kamaka explained that he photographed the Naha Stone because "King Kamehameha the Great lifted the heavy boulder." Kamaka said this was significant because he was impressed by the Hawaiian king's strength to be able to lift such a heavy piece of rock; "[the King] grew into a courageous warrior and was said to have overturned the huge Naha Stone in Hilo. According to indigenous ways of knowing, such a feat indicated superhuman strength and foreshadowed the inevitable conquest of all of Hawai'i" (Architect of the Capitol 2009:1; Morrison and Kiefer 2003). The boulder in photograph in Figure 4.6, taken by Kamaka, acted as a visual prompt for him to remember his heritage. Alfred, a Hawai'i resident, explained he made Figure 4.12 because Hawaiians are always by the water and they like their big trucks." It is clear that Kamaka photographed an object because of its relationship to Hawaiian history while Alfred photographed something where he had *seen* Hawaiians and with *what* he had seen them, but "signified knowledge" (Halualani 2002:174) about Hawaiian history through explaining why he saw Hawaiians by the water with big trucks was not established by Alfred.

Example 2, Addison created Figure 4.10 to show the nature around Richardson's Beach Park. It is a place she and her husband like to spend their Saturday before going to the farmers' market in downtown Hilo. Addison pointed out to me that it is Hawaiian in appearance because of the natural rather than the built environment. Ke'ala directed me to take Figure 4.1 to show *Kīlauea 'iki*. Addison said she photographed the nature around Richardson's Beach Park because it is natural and has a lot of nature. Ke'ala wanted me to photograph *Kīlauea 'iki* because going to the volcano makes him happy. Example 3, Alfred created Figure 5.1 (below), showing a sign that reads "Entering Tsunami Evacuation Area" and shows a person running from down the foothills of *Mauna Kea* and into tsunami waves. Alfred said he photographed it because it was funny that there

needed to be a person running toward the wave to indicate a driver or pedestrian was entering an area that would need to be evacuated in the even to of a Tsunami. A'ala photographed a sign which read "Caution Beware of Falling Coconuts and Fronds." A'ala also said she took her photograph of the sign because "it's such a part of our culture that something as cute as a coconut is a hazard. People always think it's so funny and think "oh I gotta get a picture of that, it's hilarious." I know people that have died. Look at a falling coconut. It's really not that funny." While the visual elements of the photographs are similar, Hawaiians mostly indicated the "signified knowledge" (Halualani 2002:174) of the cultural elements in their photographs and Hawai'i residents photographed well-known locales and nature scenes as Hawaiian.

Figure 5.1: Person Running Toward Tsunami
(Photograph by Alfred 2009)

5.2 Images in Comparative Context

The pile sorting activity made clearer the differences between Hawaiians' and Hawai'i residents' perceptions of what is seen as Hawaiian. The pile sorting activity was designed to be a more specific and less interpretive activity than the walk-through. Out of only 26 pre-selected photographs, the participants could categorize as Hawaiian as many or as few photographs as they wanted. The set of photographs used for the pile sorting

activity included images of activities, street signs, advertisements, and landscapes from around Hawai'i Island. It is typical for residents of Hawai'i Island to take day or weekend trips to other parts of the Island. As a result, the objects in the photographs are familiar and well-known to most.

The ordering of each group's photographs from most frequently chosen as "Hawaiian" to least Hawaiian revealed a direct relationship not only to the perceived Hawaiianness of the object(s) photographed but also the relevancy or usefulness of the object(s) photographed in Hawaiian identity and culture. The more selections a photograph received the more the object of a photograph was seen to have a direct relationship with Hawaiians and their culture. For example, the photograph of the *Kīlauea* 'iki crater on the *Kīlauea* volcano was selected seven times while all other photographs received six or less selections. More people saw the volcano as Hawaiian than saw, for example, the Hilo Shopping Center as Hawaiian. The volcano has a significant role in Hawaiian culture, mythology, and sometimes day-to-day activities. For example, vog[44] from the volcano's eruptions is toxic and can prevent people from performing an activity in certain areas (depending on the wind). Therefore, the significance and relevancy of the volcano was seen by more participants than the Hilo Shopping Center because it is more relevant in Hawaiian culture and daily activities. For Hawai'i residents, the ordering from most selected to least selected as Hawaiian represents the availability of the cultural information about the objects in the photographs. First, the photographs selected most frequently as "Hawaiian" for Hawaiians and Hawai'i residents will be discussed. Second, the photographs selected least as "Hawaiian" for Hawaiians and Hawai'i residents will be discussed. Lastly, the middle photographs, neither the most nor least frequently selected as "Hawaiian," will be discussed.

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[44] Vog is a portmanteau of the words 'volcanic' and 'smog'. Vog is air pollution created from sulfur dioxide emitted from a volcano and mixed with oxygen.

Most Selected Photographs by Hawaiians

The most common explanations from Hawaiians for the selection of photographs as "Hawaiian" or "not Hawaiian" were: the role the object(s) played in contemporary Hawaiian identity and participants' lifestyles; and the origin of the object. Based on participants' responses, my observations, and literature, photographs that were selected six or seven times by Hawaiians indicate a relationship between the objects in the photographs and the participants' stated proximity to Hawaiian culture. Hawaiian participants selected Figures 4.17, 4.39, 4.40, 4.41 (Chapter 4), 5.2, 5.3 and 5.4 (below) most frequently as being Hawaiian; these photographs show land and cultural activities.

Figure 5.2: *Hāpu'u* Shoot
A *hāpu'u* shoot is a type of fern shoot
(Photograph by Ashley Meredith 2009)

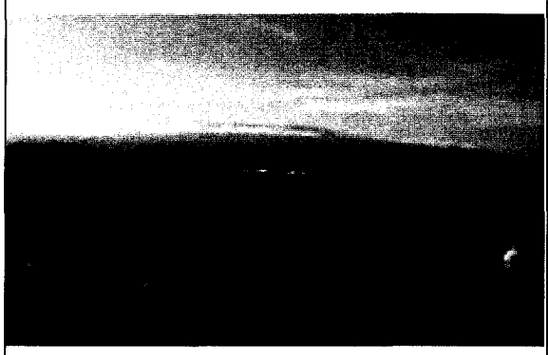

Figure 5.3: Swimming at Richardson's Beach Park
(Photograph by Ashley Meredith 2009)

Figure 5.4: Hawaiian Canoeing with *Mauna Kea* in the Background
(Photograph by Ashley Meredith 2009)

Figure 4.17 was the most frequently selected photograph by Hawaiians. It depicts *Kīlauea 'iki, Pele* the volcano goddess, and her siblings. They are important figures in Hawaiian mythology and powerful symbols in Hawaiian culture in general. Pele is the goddess of volcanoes, dance, and volcanic fire (Beckwith 2008); her home is located in the *Halema'uma'u* Crater of the *Kīlauea* Caldera (Hawai'i Volcanoes National Park 2010; United States Geological Survey 2009; Beckwith 2008). Pele's sisters are associated with cloud forms and her brothers are associated with the phenomena of thunderstorms and volcanic activities (Beckwith 2008). Through legends of her brothers, sisters, and lovers, Pele's presence flourishes on Hawai'i Island and outside of the Hawaiian Islands. There are many stories told of tourists hiking on *Kīlauea* who end up taking a lava rock home with them. Warned not to take the lava rocks away from the islands, tourists take them anyway. They do not realize that bad luck comes to those who try to take a piece of Pele's home (referring to the whole volcano) with them (Bass 2005:7). In a discussion with a customer service person at Hilo Hattie in 2005-2006 about lava rocks, she explained that months later, after a "bad luck" event has occurred for the tourist, Hilo Hattie, the post office, or some other store will receive the returned lava rock by mail. Bass (2005) explained a similar account as my experience through his travel tale, "Paradise Rising."

Figure 4.41 showed a man fishing off of lava rocks with *Mauna Kea* in the background. The photograph was taken intentionally to include *Mauna Kea* because it is has significant cultural value for Hawaiians, although participants saw the fishing first and added *Mauna Kea* to their reasoning second. Figure 4.39 showed Hawaiian style canoeing, a Hawaiian cultural and nationalist symbol (Linnekin 1983). Participants immediately recognized the activity as Hawaiian "because that's how we got here," referring to the arrival of their Polynesian ancestors to the islands between 200 and 400 A.D. (Sakoda and Siegel 2003).

Figure 5.2 showed a *hāpu'u* shoot, (new fern sprout), in the rainforest of Hawai'i Island. Hawaiians saw this as Hawaiian because it represented new life, food, and the first life after a new lava flow. Ke'ala expressed he felt bad for chopping it down to make a trail when he went hunting. When asked why, he replied "because it's also food. I have used the *hāpu'u* shoot when I was starving. I cooked it up with tuna and it was good." He also explained about his feelings toward knocking the *hāpu'u* down when he went hunting, "the hāpu'u knows why I'm there. As long as the family was fed. If you cut the *hāpu'u* in four pieces, it'll grow, so I don't feel bad," he said, indicating his concern about sustainable subsistence. There was some discrepancy over the type of fern sprout shown in the photograph; it was either an edible fern or a tree fern that is woody and not good for food.

Figure 5.3 showed people of various ages swimming at Richardson's Beach Park in Hilo. Hawaiians saw this photograph as Hawaiian because it was a place where they learned to swim, could take their children to swim, and noted that other Hawaiians spend their time by the water. Figure 5.4 showed Hawaiian style canoeing but this picture differs from Figure 4.39 in that *Mauna Kea* was present in the background. This distinction between the photographs was intentional in the hopes of more finely distinguishing the Hawaiianness of the images. Figure 4.39 also showed Hawaiian style canoeing but received the same number of selections as Figure 5.4. Participants selecting Figures 4.39 and 5.4 did so for the same reason, fondly recalling the arrival of their

ancestors to the Hawaiian Islands and the continued practice of Hawaiian canoeing in contemporary Hawai'i. Ke'ala especially noted that because he could see Hawaiian activities he could believe in the possibility of a Hawaiian nation; however, Noelani indicated that Figures 4.39 (p. 97) and 5.4 (p. 114)were not Hawaiian because they portrayed competitions occurring between canoeing clubs. She said that canoeing, as a symbol of Hawai'i, was not merely a recreational activity but represented a way of life.

The photographs described in the paragraphs above were selected most by participants among the 26 photographs available in the pile sorting activity. The explanations given provide a rudimentary baseline for understanding contemporary Hawaiianness on Hawai'i Island. These most frequently selected photographs were related to knowledge passed from parent to child and individual quests for cultural knowledge. Passing knowledge from parent to child was especially important for Noelani, A'ala, and Keola. All of the Hawaiian participants revealed they had done personal research on topics including origins of plants, restaurants, and historical background on their culture to learn what is historically and culturally Hawaiian. Refer to Table 5.1 (below) for the most selected photographs by Hawaiians and Hawai'i residents.

Table 5.1: Most Selected Photographs (Overall)

Photograph Captions	Fig.	CNT	%	Hawaiians	CNT	%	Residents of Hawai'i
Kīlauea 'iki	4.2	7	100		7	100	
Hāpu'u Shoot	5.2	6	86		7	100	
Fishing w/ *Mauna Kea* in Background	4.4	6	86		7	100	
Hawaiian Canoeing with Apt. Building	4.4	6	86		7	100	
Swim @ Richardson's w/ Mauna Kea	4.40	6	86		7	100	
Hawaiian Canoeing with Mauna Kea	5.4	6	86		7	100	
					7	100	
					7	100	

Legend	
	Selected
	Not Selected
CNT	Count

Most Selected Photographs by Hawai'i Residents

Non-Hawaiian residents were incorporated into the study with the expectation that they would have perceptions similar to Hawaiians of what is "Hawaiian" or "not Hawaiian." All respondents were born and/or lived in the Hawaiian Islands for an extended period of time.[45] Only one out of seven Hawai'i residents was born in Hawai'i. Out of the remaining six participants, one has lived in Hawai'i for more than three years and the remaining five participants have lived in Hawai'i more than ten years. Non-Hawaiians who moved to the Hawaiian Islands seemed to bring tourism induced perspectives of what *is* Hawaiian, such as the "spirit of aloha," beautiful Polynesian women, paradise, and exoticism; "these tropes of paradise, femininity, and *aloha* remain persistent elements of the spatializing discourse" (Goss 1993:663). Spatializing discourse refers to discussion about the identity constructed for a particular space. After some time living in the islands, these residents arrive at learning what is Hawaiian in the islands but also retaining the Mainland perspective disseminated by the media. The results for the Hawai'i residents group show all photographs were selected at least four times each, and more than 80 percent of the 26 available photographs. Therefore, this suggests a Local perspective, broadly defined as the combination of both proximity and social identity and specifically, a combination of knowledge from tourism advertisements, formal education, and *talk story* with Hawaiians.

The photographs selected most frequently as "Hawaiian" by Hawai'i residents were selected seven times (Table 5.1). These higher numbers seem most related to both the public availability of the particular visual elements represented in the photographs and related knowledge about the visual elements. For example, the *Kīlauea 'iki* crater is commonly known to residents and tourists. Residents have usually heard that a relationship between Hawaiians, volcanoes, and *Pele* the volcano goddess exists. However, they may not know the significance of the relationship either because the

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[45] Many residents in the Hawaiian Islands often make trips to one of the other Hawaiian Islands.

significant information is not accessed by the individual or the information available is not readily available. The most common explanation for the selection of a photograph as "Hawaiian" or "not Hawaiian" was related to the participant's exposure to a particular object and the accompanying significant information.

Collectively, the photographs selected the most number of times as "Hawaiian" by Hawai'i residents were Figures 4.18 , 4.19, 4.39, 4.40 (5.3), 4.41, 5.4, 5.5, 5.6 and 5.7.

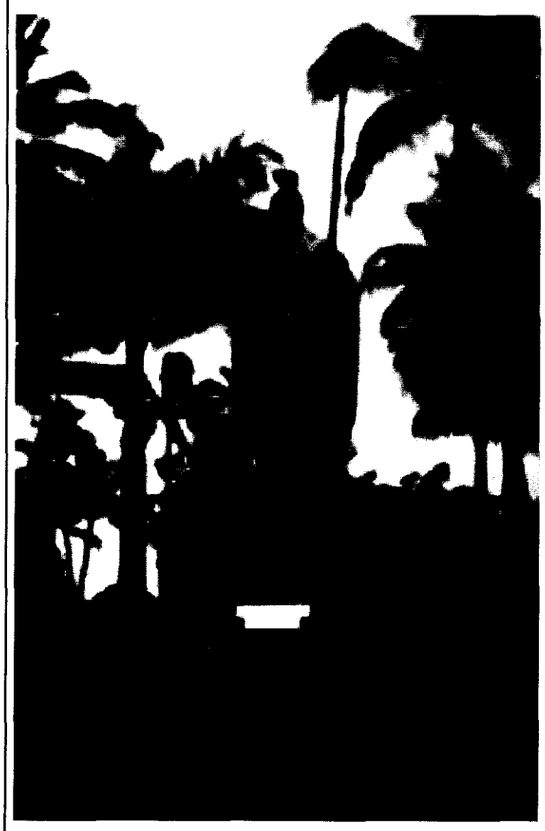

Figure 5.5: Kamehameha Statue
(Photograph by Ashley Meredith 2009)

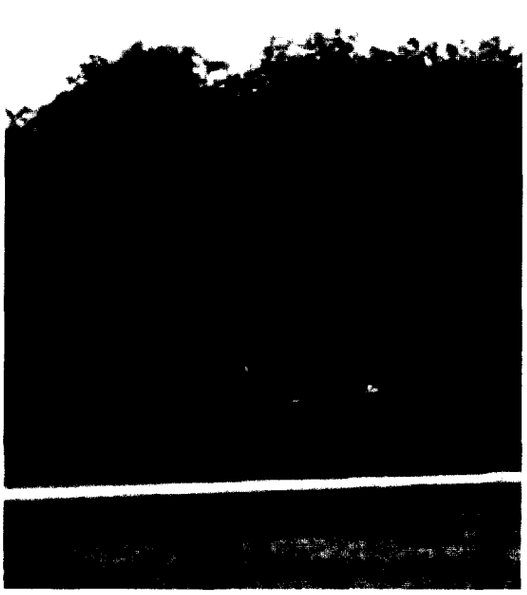

Figure 5.6: University of Hawai'i, Hawai'i Community College Sign
(Photograph by Ashley Meredith 2009)

Figure 5.7: Hilo Farmers' Market
(Photograph by Ashley Meredith 2009)

These photographs show cultural activities, an educational institution, local practices, and a well-known Hawaiian leader. Hawai'i residents unanimously reported Figures 4.39, 4.40, 4.41 (Chapter 4) and 5.4 (above) as Hawaiian because they had seen Hawaiians taking part in the activities or knew it was a Hawaiian cultural activity, either through (1) an educational institution such as the University of Hawai'i, Hilo and Hawai'i Community College or (2) from *talk story* with Hawaiians or *Locals*. Participants reported Figure 4.19 as Hawaiian because it was used in *nā lei* or as a marker of a woman's dating status, single or taken, depending on the ear behind which she tucked the flower stem. Participants reported Figure 5.5 as Hawaiian because King Kamehameha united the Hawaiian Islands and a statue of him exists in downtown Hilo and Hāwī, among other places in Hawai'i. Participants selected Figure 4.18 as Hawaiian because they've seen Hawaiians eat there or "because of the local food," according to Ava. For this participant, *Local* can mean to include Hawaiians or "local" can just refer to proximity, or both. In this case, the participant was asked to select the photographs that she sees as Hawaiian. She selected Figure 4.18 and said "because of the local food." For her, the Café 100 food establishment is Hawaiian because it is where one can get local food, which is an amalgamation of cultural cuisines. Based on her description and explanation, "local" most likely refers to descendants of the groups who took part in the

working-class plantation experience. See also the discussion of *Local* in "A Note to Readers," Chapters 2 and 3. Lastly, participants selected Figure 5.6 because they recognized the subject of the photograph as an educational institution for learning Hawaiian language and culture. One Hawai'i resident specifically noted it as a necessity for the Hawaiian nation: "they should be educated, they should have an education system if they are to be a nation." Hawai'i residents reported recalling their exposure to Hawaiian culture so as to sort the photographs into piles of "Hawaiian" or "not Hawaiian." Hawaiians reported the importance in Hawaiian culture of a visual element of the public environment of Hawai'i Island and Hawaiians knew the objects in the photographs and understood their cultural ties. Hawai'i residents usually knew an object had a place in Hawaiian culture but rarely expressed an understanding of what place it had. However, Hawai'i residents expressed an understanding of why some visual elements did not have a place in Hawaiian culture and their accounts converged with Hawaiian participants' explanations for the photographs least frequently chosen as Hawaiian photographs.

Least Selected Photographs by Hawaiians and Hawai'i residents

Hawaiian participants selected the photographs in Figures 5.7, 5.8, 5.9, 5.10, 5.11, 5.12, and 5.13 least often as Hawaiian. Hawai'i residents selected Figures 5.18, 5.13, and 5.10 least often. Depictions of built objects and structures were selected less often for historical reasons, and because they were considered unnecessary, or because their construction did not represent 'the Hawaiian way'. Figure 5.7 showed the Hilo Farmer's Market in downtown Hilo. Hawaiians said that Hawaiians rarely sold their goods at the market. Instead, mostly Filipinos sold their goods. Ethan responded that "the farmers' market involved buying and selling with money and noting that the construction of it was not Hawaiian. He explained that the Hawaiian way involved trading and sharing with each other, even in contemporary Hawai'i. While "farmers' markets are presumed to shorten the social and economic distance between producers and consumers" (Guthman 2008:388), the distance between Hawaiians and Hawai'i residents grows because is it

considered uncharacteristic of Hawaiians. Instead, the distance shortens among the Hawai'i residents buying and selling at the farmers' market in Hilo.

Figure 5.8 (below) showed the Mo'oheau[46] bus terminal in downtown Hilo. Hawaiians did not see this photograph as specifically Hawaiian; what is shown could be anywhere. The Hawaiian language used on the sign was not a factor large enough to make the bus station seem Hawaiian but instead reminded one Hawaiian of greater problems: "the bus station to me, it really represents to me how drugs have impacted our culture. If you want to see a bunch of drunken stoned Hawaiians go to the bus station."

Figure 5.8: Mo'oheau Bus Terminal
(Photograph by Ashley Meredith 2009)

Figure 5.9 (below) showed an old police station established in the beginning of the twentieth century. This photograph was not selected because it was a colonial construction. According to A'ala, "Hawaiians had a system of *pono* (moral qualities, goodness)."[47] Ke'ala said to me that even fences to protect children from kidnapping, for example, would be unnecessary under the Hawaiian system because the punishment was

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[46] Mo'oheau refers to "park, Hilo waterfront, Hawai'i, named for Ka'ai'awa'awai Mo'oheau (the bitter food of Mo'oheau), the son of Ho'oulu, who is aid to have hidden Kamehameha's bones" (Pukui, Elbert, and Mookini 1974:157).

[47] An exact English definition does not exist for *pono*. Pono can best be described as "goodness, uprightness, morality, moral qualities, correct or proper procedure, excellence, well-being, prosperity, welfare, benefit, behalf, equity, sake, true condition or nature, duty" (Pukui and Elbert 1986:340).

so great for committing crimes that citizens would not even attempt to commit a crime. Therefore, the old police station was not seen as Hawaiian because it was not seen as part of 'the Hawaiian way'.

Figure 5.9: Police Historic Site
Hilo, Hawai'i
(Photograph by Ashley Meredith 2009)

Four Hawaiians said the power lines were "eye sores" and ruined the landscape of Hilo Bay while three Hawaiians saw something else. Kamaka Kealoha selected this photograph because they recognized it contained Hilo Bay. Leilani selected this photograph because of the place power lines had in progress—providing electricity. She also noted that 'Iolani Palace had electricity before the White House and that King Kalākaua sought technological progressive actions with regards to technology.

Figure 5.10 (below) showed a landscape of Hilo Bay with power lines in the foreground. Hawai'i residents selecting Figure 5.10 did so because they recognized the location, Hilo Bay, explaining the image of Hilo Bay was Hawaiian because "that's Hilo Bay," a place in the Hawaiian Islands. Four Hawaiians said the power lines were "eye sores" and ruined the landscape of Hilo Bay while three Hawaiians saw something else. Kamaka Kealoha selected this photograph because they recognized it contained Hilo Bay.

Leilani selected this photograph because of the place power lines had in progress—providing electricity. She also noted that 'Iolani Palace had electricity before the White House and that King Kalākaua sought progressive actions with regards to technology. Ben responded "a lot of wires. As long as we have power needs, we're gonna need that kind of stuff." Hawai'i residents not selecting Figure 5.10 indicated the power lines ruined the image just as the Hawaiian participants did.

Figure 5.10: Hilo Bay with Power Lines
(Photograph by Ashley Meredith 2009)

Figure 5.11 (below) showed the Hilo Shopping Center. This photograph was not selected by many Hawaiians because there was too much concrete, cars, and business signs. A'ala and Keola specifically commented on the number of cars in the foreground of the photograph; Jacob, a Hawai'i resident, also commented on the number of cars in the photograph. The two Hawaiians selecting this photograph as Hawaiian did so because they saw multi-culturality as Hawaiian. They expressed that the photograph represented multi-culturality because of the variety of businesses and business owners. It is not uncommon for multi-culturality to be associated with Hawaiianness because it is well-known that the Hawaiian Kingdom had a plethora of ethnicities inhabiting the Hawaiian

Islands during the plantation era, 1835-1913 (Sakoda and Siegel 2003). However, this has led to a liberalization of Hawaiian identity and extended into a "struggle over sovereign rights, land, and benefits, where *haoles,* Locals, and Hawaiians fight over the claim to being truly Hawaiian and native to the islands" (Halualani 2002:5). Likewise, Figure 5.12 (below) showed the East Hawaii Cultural Center. Hawaiians did not see this as very Hawaiian because the content of the cultural center was not specifically Hawaiian. However, one participant selected Figure 5.12 because of the multi-cultural representation inside of the East Hawai'i Cultural Center. It should be noted that the platform of this person selecting Figures 5.11 and 5.12 as Hawaiian in her pile sort maintains a liberal view of a sovereign Hawaiian nation and does not intend to exclude anyone or kick anyone out of the Hawaiian Islands.

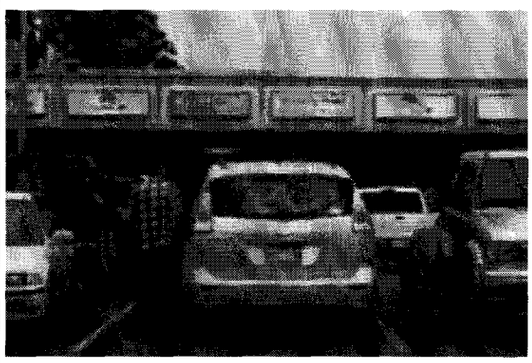

Figure 5.11: Hilo Shopping Center
(Photograph by Ashley Meredith 2009)

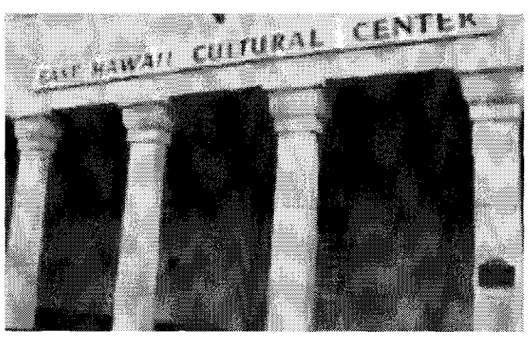

Figure 5.12: East Hawaii Cultural Center
Hilo, Hawai'i
(Photograph by Ashley Meredith 2009)

Figure 5.13 (below) showed a wall of lava rock cemented together. Hawaiians saw this as least Hawaiian because of the cement, stating that "it's not the Hawaiian way," referring to the craftsmanship of the wall's construction – the use of cement to bind the rocks rather than the rocks fitted together without cement. Hawai'i residents not selecting Figure 5.13 explained the wall was non-specific to Hawai'i and could be

anywhere, but did not mention the cement as uncharacteristically Hawaiian in the construction of a rock wall.

Figure 5.13: Lava Rock Wall
Hilo Hawai'i (Photograph by Ashley Meredith 2009)

Themes of Rejected Photographs

The most common explanations from Hawaiians and Hawai'i residents for rejecting the photographs as representing Hawai'i were related to the following characteristics of the object(s) in the photos: (1) "they were not made by Hawaiians," (2) "not made the Hawaiian way," (3) "not specifically Hawaiian or specific to the Hawaiian Islands," or (4) a representation of greater problems, not specific to Hawai'i. The explanations for most and least selected Hawaiian photographs for Hawaiians seemed primarily rooted in the object's proximity to traditional Hawaiian culture or place in contemporary Hawaiian identity and less concerned with the state's attempts to construct a multicultural Hawai'i in comparison with Hawai'i residents' responses. The range of

the number of times each photograph was selected by Hawaiians is broad, indicating a less restrictive perspective of Hawaiianness compared to the narrow spread of photograph selections from Hawai'i residents'. In the following paragraphs I will discuss the middle 13 photographs. These photographs received neither the majority nor the least number of selections; between three and five Hawaiians selected each of these photographs between three as "Hawaiian," thus encouraging a broad spread of selections. In reference to Table 4.4 (Chapter 4), there was little overlap in the photographs selected the least number of times as "Hawaiian." For example, Figure 5.13 was selected by one Hawaiian participant and by four Hawai'i residents. The photographs chosen the least number of times as "Hawaiian" by Hawai'i residents were selected by four out of seven Hawai'i residents. The photographs selected least often as "Hawaiian" by Hawaiian participants were selected only one or two times.

Neither the Least nor Most Selected Photographs

The broad perception of Hawaiianness from Hawaiians suggested by the *t* test (discussed in Chapter 4) is most related to recent renaissance, resurgence, and contemporary actions toward cultural sustainability; Hawaiians frequently explained that they saw the need for particular institutions and wanted the socially functioning institutions in order to have a culturally sustainable future. For example, the University of Hawai'i Hilo sign (Fig. 5.6) represented education and cultural reproduction for Hawaiians; participants selecting this image as Hawaiian expressed that they saw the need for cultural institutions to encourage the longevity of their culture. In the pile sorting results, Hawaiians selected photographs in other unanticipated ways similar to the selection of Figure 5.6. These selections seemed to be related more to representation of the objects in the photographs and their role in cultural sustainability, for example, Figures 4.15, 4.16, 4.18, 4.19, 5.2, 5.5, 5.6, 5.14, 5.15, 5.16, 5.17, 5.18, and 5.21. These photographs were neither most selected (receiving six or seven votes) nor least selected (receiving two or less votes) (refer to Tables 4.4 and 4.5 in Chapter 4). The selections also could be related to the variety of cultural goals of Hawaiians in contemporary Hawai'i,

language, traditional cultural activities, sovereignty, cultural sustainability, or social sustainability for example. These photographs are separated into three themes: language, advertisements, and landscape.

Images Containing Elements of Hawaiian Language

Photographs in this category were taken because of the bits of Hawaiian language in them. It was hypothesized that the presence of the Hawaiian language in the image would make the photograph more likely to be selected as representing Hawai'i. Varying ages and expectations for the Hawaiian language produced mixed results. For some, language on signs brought up many unpleasant memories about colonialism in the Hawaiian Islands, especially language and land loss (Marshall 2006). The photographs containing these signs were thus not frequently chosen.

Figure 5.14 (below) shows a postcard with an image of a Hawaiian woman on it, most likely Queen Lili'uokalani as Ava described. It is inscribed with "*Aloha 'oe,*" the name of one of her famous songs meaning 'farewell to thee'. It signifies to the Hawaiian people 'until we meet again'. This postcard could evoke the Hawaiian Queen, the overthrow of the Hawaiian Kingdom in 1893, and Queen Lili'uokalani's songs and fight for the Hawaiian Kingdom.

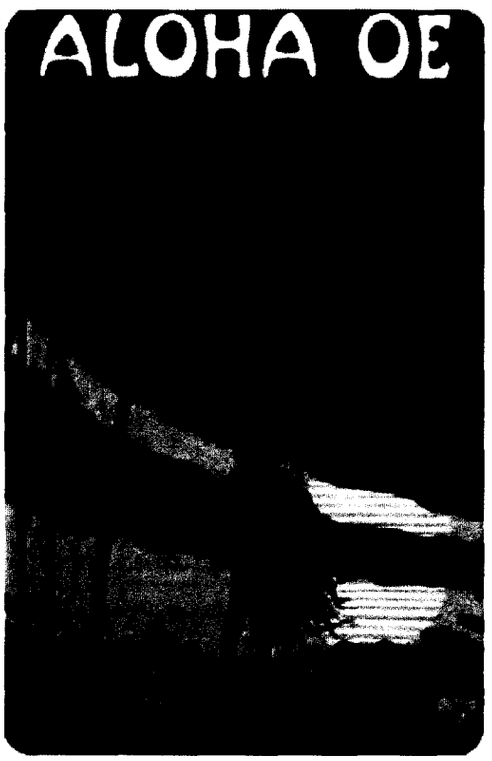

Figure 5.14: *Aloha 'Oe* Postcard
"Aloha 'Oe" postcard, ca. 1930s.
Original by Pacifica Island Art, Inc.,
(Photograph by Ashley Meredith 2009)

Figure 5.15 (below) shows a standard green highway sign with "Hamakua" and "downtown" written on it and large portions of greenery in the background. This image was not chosen as Hawaiian because the sign was a manufactured sign; however, A'ala said "In contemporary Hawai'i, Hawaiians are trying to see themselves in the landscape, in a way that is Hawaiian." As A'ala points out about Figure 5.15,

> Hamakua means 'breath of the gods'. And the Hamakua Coast where Honoka'a is located, that's where a lot of royalty and people important to Hawaiian culture are buried. It wasn't because of the sign it was the word. When you're driving along and you see the sign, for me every time I see the sign, and it's reads "you're now in the district of Hamakua"... I like that.

I asked A'ala, referring to Figure 5.15, "Is it meaningful to see Hawaiian language on them?" She replied, "I would like to see my culture perpetuated a little bit more than that. In Kona, it's a sharp contrast [to Hilo]. Where are we? I feel like we're in Oakland [when in Kona]. I was driving around and then I see a see a sign, 'Oh that's right, I'm home'."

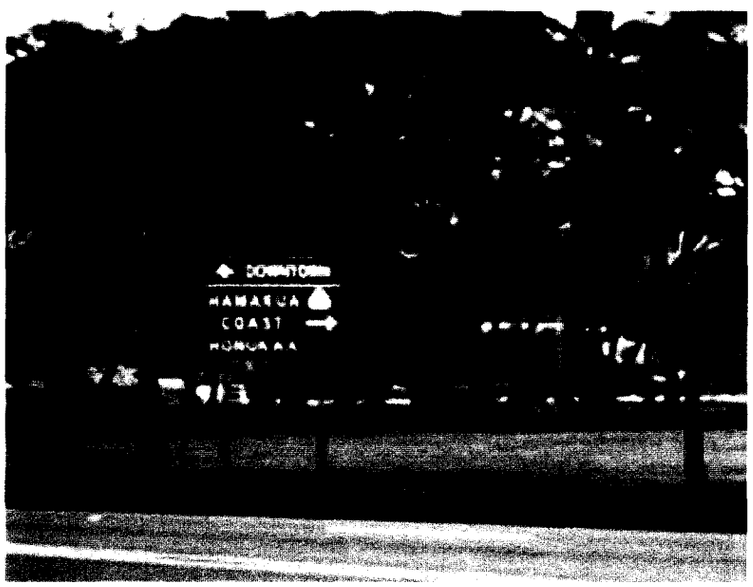

Figure 5.15: *Hamakua* Coast Sign
"Downtown," "Hamakua," "Honokaa," Hilo, Hawai'i
(Photograph by Ashley Meredith 2009)

Figure 5.16 (below) showed "Honoka'a" inscribed on a green metal sign and using a Hawaiian grammatical structure, the *'okina*, correctly as my participants indicated to me. Figure 5.17 (below) showed a street sign with "Honokaa" written on it, without the *'okina.* Some participants did not see this difference between Figures 5.16 and 5.17 (above). For Noelani, the difference did not matter because it was a manufactured sign with white letters; the sign appeared more as a space taker than a place maker for Hawaiians.

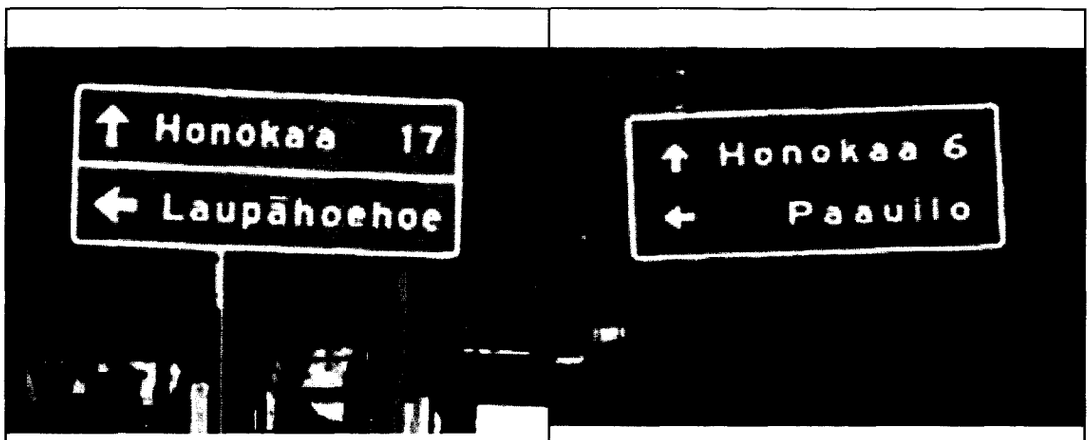

Figure 5.16: *Honoka'a*
"*Honoka'a* 17," "*Laupāhoehoe*"
(Photograph by Ashley Meredith 2009)

Figure 5.17: *Honokaa*
"*Honokaa* 6," "*Paauilo*"
(Photograph by Ashley Meredith 2009)

Given the ages of the Hawaiian participants (12, 28, 36, 36, 50+, 50+ 50+), the inconsistent selections of photographs with language as the object of focus could be related to the 1970s time period. After the United States overthrew Hawai'i in 1893, the Hawaiian language was no longer used as the primary medium of instruction according to Act 57, sec. 30 of the 1896 Laws of the Republic of Hawai'i (Benham 1998); the law mandated "free public education in English-speaking schools throughout the Republic" (Benham 1998:110) to insure that Hawaiian children were socialized to Western values and decrease diversity through assimilation. It was not until the 1970s when a renaissance of Hawaiian culture boomed (Marshall 2006). By 1978, the State of Hawai'i made the Hawaiian language an official language of Hawai'i again. Even after 1978, three participants noted, parents encouraged their children to learn English because they considered it more versatile in the world. The researcher heard this many times during her 2005-6 observations. Most likely, at least five of the participants did not have the option of education in the Hawaiian language since the language was at an all time low during their primary education years. However, they are the demographic (approximately 30+) to see signs with Hawaiian language on them as Hawaiian because

they considered it "a start" (A'ala) and "this is Hawai'i, things should be in Hawaiian" (Ikaika). Participants 28 years of age and older grew up in a time of cultural renaissance and seem to desire seeing their language at the very least and were experiencing personal cultural regrowth either at the time of interview or had done so already. One person from this demographic did not see the signs as Hawaiian because she did not consider metal signs Hawaiian. Another person, twelve years of age, agreed with this person, his *tutu* (grandmother). He currently studies the Hawaiian language, hula, and attends a Hawaiian immersion school. In most cases of the photographs with language as the focal object, A'ala agreed with the grandmother and son. These three participants were from three generations, son, mother, and grandmother. The 28-year old was just becoming involved in learning about his heritage when the researcher met him; more and more Hawaiian youth are becoming involved with their heritage and experiencing a cultural awakening.

By 1995, Hale Kuamo'o translated the FirstClass Bulletin Board System from English into Hawaiian and has been installing the system into Hawai'i's immersion schools, various offices, and the Hawaiian language departments of the University of Hawai'i system (Warschauer and Donaghy 1997:4). This system encouraged an environment with software in Hawaiian as well as a means for communicating in Hawaiian and connecting Hawaiians not living in the Hawaiian Islands. Today in the Hawaiian Islands, more youth have become involved by developing a visual connection with their Hawaiian roots through education, hula, canoeing, Hawaiian language learning, technology, and new media. These outlets for expressing Hawaiian culture and language are encouraging a cultural awakening in Hawaiian youth. Their education comes through Hawaiian immersion schools, the University of Hawai'i in Hilo, Hawai'i Community College, and a variety of internet tools, MySpace, Facebook, Maoli World, YouTube, and Big Island-Big Island. Many of these internet tools are networking tools, with Maoli World made specifically to unite Hawaiians. These three institutions are devoted to

educating and reconnecting Hawaiian youth and parents to their cultural roots as well as to educating anyone else interested in Hawaiian language and culture.

Images Containing Advertisements

Photographs of advertisements appeared relevant to the question of Hawaiianness because many seemed to advertise to Hawaiians, Hawai'i residents, or both, on Hawai'i Island. It was hypothesized that advertisements to Hawaiians, such as the University of Hawai'i Hilo and Hawai'i Community college sign, would be selected by every participant because of the cultural growth these institutions encouraged. These signs could be considered 'welcome' signs, but appeared to act more as symbols of cultural growth and advertisement of that. Both institutions provide tools to learn about Hawaiian culture and language either through Hawaiian or English. Nevertheless, some Hawaiian participants did not select the image of the sign for the education institutions because the photograph's composition primarily emphasized the sign and guard rail with very little greenery. Refer to Figure 5.6 to see its composition. However, all Hawai'i residents selected Figure 5.6 as Hawaiian while four participants selected Figure 5.18 (below), one of the least selected photographs by Hawai'i residents; three Hawaiian participants selected Figure 5.18, which has "*Aloha*" written on it, a Hawaiian woman wearing *he lei* with Diamond Head and the Pacific Ocean in the background, and bird of paradise (*Strelitzia reginae*) and hibiscus[48] flowers in the foreground.

[48] *Hibiscus.*

Figure 5.18: Aloha Postcard
"Aloha" Postcard, ca. 2004.
(Original: Greg Young Publishing, Photograph by Ashley Meredith 2009)

Hawai'i residents who did not select Figure 5.18 did so because they considered it "the vision of Hawai'i by the white man." Hawai'i residents selected Figure 5.7 (above) because they knew it as a place to learn Hawaiian language and culture. For example, A'ala said,

> So much of our culture was lost, but thankfully through the university we have a formal place to be reconnected and reacquainted with our culture. For cultural things the university and the community here work really close together for the Hawaiian lifestyles program. Someone brought their grandma in because she knew all of the original names of Keokaha. It's been a really good pathway for people.

Figure 5.5 shows a statue of King Kamehameha the Great, set in downtown Hilo. According to A'ala it "was created by someone who doesn't understand culture." The statue was sculpted by R. Sandrin at the Fracaro Foundry in Vicenza, Italy in 1963 but was not erected in Hilo until 1997 in Wailoa River State Park;

> The statue was originally commissioned for $125,000 by the Princeville Corporation for their resort in Kauai. However, the people of Kaua'i did not want the statue erected there as Kaua'i was never conquered by King Kamehameha I. Hilo, however, was the political center for King Kamehameha I. Therefore, the Princeville Corporation donated the statue to the Big Island of Hawaii. [Hawaii Web 2010].

A'ala said the problem with the statue was its gesture – "Kamehameha's palm facing the sky, signaling 'no more', rather than facing downward." The statue in Hilo is one of five statues of Kamehameha the Great. One hundred years after the arrival of Captain James Cook, Walter Murray Gibson proposed a centennial monument be erected to commemorate the discovery of the Hawaiian Islands (Adler 1969:87). Thomas R. Gould sculpted the first statue (Adler 1969:87). It is located in *Kapa'au* in *Kohala* on Hawai'i Island at the birthplace. Thomas R. Gould sculpted a second statue because the first one went down with a ship around the Falkland Islands and was late for commemoration in 1883. Some Falkland Islanders found it and sold it to back to the captain of the ship. This second statue is in Honolulu in front of *Ali'iolani Hale* the present day Judiciary Building (Adler 1969:91). A third statue exists in United States Capitol Building, commissioned after the Hawaiian Islands became the 50th state. The statue of Kamehmeha the Great in Hilo is the fourth and the Grand Wailea Resort Hotel and Spa in Maui is the location of the fifth. The fifth statue is the only statue to be made by a Hawaiian artist, Herb Kawainui Kāne.

Figure 5.19 (below) shows the Hawai'i state flag upside down in Kalapana. Depending on the person with whom I spoke, the State of Hawaii flag upside down represented the sovereignty movement, displeasure with the political and governmental situation in Hawai'i, or simply the state flag of Hawai'i. Most knew the association between the inverted flag and the Hawaiian Sovereignty Movement. Sovereignty is an issue among Hawaiians, *Locals,* and those born post-Hawai'i annexation, resulting in a variety of factions (Merry 1997).

Figure 5.19: Upside Down Hawaii State Flag
Kalapana, Puna District, Hawai'i
(Photograph by Ashley Meredith 2009)

Figure 4.18 (Chapter 4) showed people ordering at Café 100. The menu is posted in Hawaiian or Pidgin vocabulary words and phrases. A'ala said, "it was created by founders of the 100th battalion of Japanese soldiers. It's not native." Noelani and Keola agreed. Participants selecting Figure 4.18 did so because (1) they enjoyed eating there, (2) it was the only one in Hawai'i, or (3) it is regarded as part of being Hawaiian because during the plantation era the Hawaiian Kingdom incorporated a variety of ethnicities (Sakoda and Siegel 2003) just like Café 100. In particular, Leilani and Ke'ala saw *Hawaiian* as inclusive of the descendants from the Hawaiian Kingdom. The variety of opinions about the Hawaiianness of this photograph seemed most related to the conflict of individual tastes. For example, Leilani mentioned an example from her research of someone who likes McDonald's but who would not want to lose this and other ways to consume and objects of consumption that came about as a result of occupation, annexation, and even statehood.

Images of Landscapes

Figure 5.20 (below) showed a sign with "Kekaha State Park" written on it. The Hawaiian language on the sign seemed to have very little positive effect on Hawaiian

participants. This could be related to the state government's involvement and association with state parks and controlling Hawaiian lands. The collective uncertainty about the *Hawaiianness* of this photograph stems from seeing the need for governmental protection but also acknowledging the protection would not be needed if the Hawaiian Islands had not been colonized and created as the 50th state of the United States. For Keola, this sign represented protection of Hawaiian land that needed protection but for others it represented government control of something that is not the government's to control. In the contemporary Hawaiian Islands, the "ceded lands" case, Hawaii vs. Office of Hawaiian Affairs, No. 07-1372 (Mar. 31, 2009), also called "seized lands," often comes into conversation when land is mentioned. This case is founded on the illegal status of the overthrow of the Hawaiian kingdom in 1893 (discussed in Chapter 2). Many support the idea that the Crown and Governmental Lands of the Hawaiian monarchy are illegally occupied and that Hawaiians are the rightful possessors of the Crown and Governmental Lands set aside by King Kamehameha III during the Great Māhele. Nationalists operate on this premise in governing the Hawaiian Kingdom; one participant leads and participants in the Reinstated Hawaiian Government under this premise.

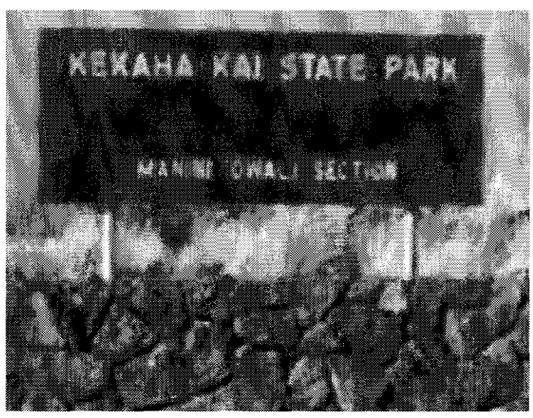

Figure 5.20: Kekaha Kai State Park
Kekaha Kai State Park: Manini ʻŌwali Section
(Photograph by Ashley Meredith 2009)

Figure 5.21 (below) shows a church with the name of the church on a sign written in Hawaiian. This photograph was among the least frequently selected among the language photographs because the church was not familiar to any of my participants, responding "it's not my god." Those participants selecting this photograph did so because they saw a place for religion in individual lives or identified with the religion of this church. Refer to Chapter 2 for discussion of missionaries in the Hawaiian Islands.

Figure 5.21: Miloli'i Church
Miloli'i, Hawai'i
(Photograph by Ashley Meredith 2009)

Figure 4.19 showed a flower commonly used in making *nā lei,* the plumeria flower (*Plumera obtusa*). Hawaiian participants who selected it said they liked this fragrant flower and brought fond memories to them. Those who did not select it said it was endemic but not a native plant to Hawai'i. Figure 4.15 showed island kids throwing snowballs by the ocean. In my thinking, this image of snowballs in local kids' hands by the ocean was extremely symbolic because they brought *Poli'ahu* [49] (snow goddess of

[49] In Hawaiian mythology, Poli'ahu is one of four snow goddesses, enemy of Pele. Poli'ahu refers to the "snow goddess of *Mauna Kea. Lit.*, Bosom goddess" (Pukui and Elbert 1986:338).

Mauna Kea) down from the top of *Mauna Kea* (*Wākea's* home) to meet *kai* (sea). The photograph was very Hawaiian for me because so many elements of Hawaiian culture were represented, all at once. The photographs of *Mauna Kea* with snow on top and the ocean at the bottom was seen as Hawaiian by many residents; this photograph with similar elements, plus the kids, seemed Hawaiian. Hawaiians recognized this place, Pohoiki, as a place Hawaiians hang out; however, the newly paved parking lot ruined the image for the Hawaiian participants and caused them not to classify the image as Hawaiian. The photograph was very Hawaiian for me because so many elements of Hawaiian culture were represented, all at once. The photographs of *Mauna Kea* with snow on top and the ocean at the bottom was seen as Hawaiian by many residents; this photograph with similar elements, plus the kids, seemed Hawaiian. Hawaiians recognized this place, Pohoiki, as a place Hawaiians hang out; however, the newly paved parking lot ruined the image for the Hawaiian participants and caused them not to classify the image as Hawaiian.

The pile sorting results, selection explanations, photograph rankings, mean, and standard deviation, indicate a narrow perception on the part of Hawai'i residents. By narrow perception, I mean that Hawai'i residents generally agree on how Hawaiianness looks and what is Hawaiian. This narrow or shallow perception, varying only slightly in perception of *what is Hawaiian* appears most related to the participants' compounded exposure to visual elements, conversation with other residents living on Hawai'i Island, and the visual elements, markedly tourism-oriented, marked as Hawaiian inside and outside of the Hawaiian Islands. Hawai'i residents recognize a difference between their own culture and Hawaiian culture and have responded similarly, as a group, to the images that they perceive as Hawaiian. Therefore, the results concur with Linnekin's statement that the "dissemination of identity merchandise encourages people to assert cultural difference and to conceptualize this difference *in the same way*" (Linnekin 2004:336). The Hawaiian tourism industry has systematically promoted a certain set of visual ideologies about Hawaiianness, Hawaiian culture, and Hawaiian identities. Additionally,

non-Hawaiians have learned about Hawaiianness, Hawaiian culture, and Hawaiian identity from living in the Hawaiian Islands and thus Hawai'i residents who have seen the tourism images or heard local stories regurgitate this information produce a fairly unified perception of Hawaiianness. This is contrary to Hawaiians who have a deeper and more varied perspective on what "Hawaiian" means and who thus did not select the same photographs as many times as Hawai'i residents. Thus, the results suggest that each Hawaiian has a different perception of Hawaiianness, and in this sense a broad, or deeply founded view of Hawaiianness.

5.3 Identifying Hawaiianness Within Themes

The category "tests" asked participants to choose a photograph from a small set of photographs that were similar thematically. As with the other exercises there were noticeable differences between Hawaiians' and Hawai'i residents' choices for most of the themes. Two exceptions were the street and directive signs. Both Hawaiian and Hawai'i residents often commented they could not get away from signs and had accepted them as part of their everyday visual experience. The major differences in perceptions of Hawaiianness from each group emerged in the remaining five category tests – advertisements, activities, flowers, land, and language. The differences that occurred in each of these categories between Hawaiians and Hawai'i residents appear as the result of cultural differences, possible esoteric knowledge associated with the images, and individual differences in perception, with the exception of advertisements which is a category both groups have come to know within the last century. Both Hawaiian and Hawai'i residents seemed to select photographs based on the objects' familiarity in relation to Hawaiian culture.

The "Street Signs" and "Directive Signs" Category Tests

The majority of the Hawaiians and drew participating in this study selected Figure 4.30 as most Hawaiian in the "street signs" category. Both Hawaiian and Hawai'i residents frequently drew on their knowledge about the Hawaiian language, for example, Figure 4.22 was not selected because the name "Bishop" appeared on the sign and Bishop

was not a Hawaiian name. While Figure 4.23 contained words from the Hawaiian language, it also contained words from the English language; this seemed to deter participants from selecting it as well. A large metal sign in the forefront of the photograph was an aesthetic deterrent. For Hawaiians and Hawai'i residents, seeing the Hawaiian language seemed important in indicating "Hawaiian" but being chosen depended in part on the correctness of the language. Depending on the Hawaiian word, "correctness" largely depended on the presence of *ke kahakō* and *'okina*, if one belonged to the word. Upon selecting Figure 4.20 as most Hawaiian, citing that signs with *kahakō* and *'okina* make signs appear more Hawaiian than signs without them. Alfred, the only participant to select Figure 4.21 as Hawaiian, considered it Hawaiian because it was the first one he saw after stating "they all look equal to me, except the one with "Bishop" in it." Noelani expressed to me that she did not see manufactured signs in any way Hawaiian.

The "Advertisements" Category

Hawaiian participants commented frequently that none of the advertisements were really Hawaiian, but if they had to pick one it would be the one with *'ohana* (family) in it because *'ohana* and keeping Hawai'i clean are important and seem to be core values of Hawaiian culture to Hawaiians; Figure 4.30 included both of those. Other Hawaiians chose Figure 4.31 showing a bumper sticker advertising *Kau Inoa* on a car, because he was a member of the organization, and Figure 4.32 showed people at Café 100 at the order window and advertisement signs with local language descriptions of food, because "none of them are Hawaiian, but in modern Hawai'i, Café 100 is Hawaiian, and it's the only one in the State of Hawai'i." Hawai'i residents who selected Figure 4.33 explained that "Verna's was a local food establishment and [the sign in the image] contained the Pidgin language." Two Hawai'i residents selected Figure 4.34 of an advertisement for a Hawaiian owned business, stating that "it's Hawaiian because it is a Hawaiian owned business." One Hawai'i resident selected Figure 4.31 (Chapter 4) because "in root [originally], they were focused on making Hawai'i sovereign" but in contemporary Hawai'i, participants more commonly associated *Kau Inoa* as deceiving or not benefitting

Hawaiians. The last photograph, one Hawai'i resident selected Figure 4.32 (above) because she considered it a *local* food establishment. Sometimes, Hawai'i residents used "Hawaiian" and "*Local*" interchangeably, a usage which expresses a shared local legitimacy in opposition to short-term visitors and tourists. As discussed in Chapter 1, a Hawaiian can be a *Local* but a *Local* is not necessarily a Hawaiian.

The 'Activities' Category

The 'activities' category addressed a variety of traditional Hawaiian activities seen in contemporary Hawai'i Island during the researcher's initial observation in 2005-2006 on Hawai'i Island, except for surfing; however, while no one asked why a photograph of surfing or a surfer was not included, Alfred explained to me that "surfing was banned by the missionaries and then monopolized by *haoles* (foreigners)." Three photographs of contemporary Hawaiian activities, of Hawaiian tradition, seen in the contemporary Hawaiian Islands were included: Hawaiian canoeing, fishing, and swimming. While both groups recognized the activities as traditionally Hawaiian, the majority of Hawaiians selected Figure 4.39 while Hawai'i residents selected 4.41. Hawaiians stated Figure 4.39, an image of Hawaiian canoes in Hilo Bay, was most Hawaiian "because that's how we arrived here." A'ala said Figure 4.39 was most Hawaiian because "that's where we swim, learn how to swim, and take our children to learn how to swim," indicating it as a Hawaiian site of cultural growth, as did Ke'ala in his interview. A'ala said Figure 4.40 was most Hawaiian because "that's where we swim, learn how to swim, and take our children to learn how to swim," indicating it as a Hawaiian site of cultural growth, as did Ke'ala in his interview. Ke'ala specifically noted that all of the activity photographs were "all one in the same—I love to do them all." Later in the interview the subject of nationhood came up and I asked him if he thought Hawaiian sovereignty could ever be realized . He responded "there is a possibility for a nation because I can see Hawaiian activities." Noelani said she did not select the photograph of someone fishing (Fig. 4.39) as Hawaiian because "that's just not the way we did it." Noelani said she could not select any of the photographs because "that's not

the traditional way, they were not activities like they are today, they were a part of life. Today, there are competitions with the *wa'a* (Hawaiian canoe)." Hawai'i residents saw fishing (Fig. 4.41) as the most Hawaiian activity, stating that's what they see Hawaiians doing and eating – fish. "They love their *'ahi poke* (tuna pieces)," Alfred expressed. A Hawai'i resident selected Figure 4.39 because he recognized Hawaiian canoeing as "a traditional Hawaiian activity that facilitated Hawaiians' initial arrival in the Hawaiian islands."

The "Flowers" Category

The "flowers" category incorporated a specific selection of flora seen around Hawai'i Island. In the category "flowers," Hawaiians unanimously selected Figure 4.42 as most Hawaiian, a photograph of the lehua flower. Each Hawaiian recalled the Pele story about the red flower that grows on the *'ōhi'a* tree (*Metrosideros polymorpha*): the *lehua* flower, when picked, leads to rain because picking it symbolizes Pele the volcano goddess separating the lovers, lehua and *'ōhi'a*. Leilani specifically noted, "it is one of the first plant forms that comes after a flow, it comes back to start that regrowth. The lehua is a *kino lau*[50] [body form] of Pele." Hawai'i residents who selected Figure 4.42 did so because they knew the Pele story as well. The majority of Hawai'i residents said they selected Figure 4.44 as most Hawaiian because they had seen it labeled in the Hilo Botanical Gardens. From the perspective of two participants, Figure 4.43 was selected as most Hawaiian because the bird of paradise (*Strelitzia reginae*) was what they thought of for exotic tropical destinations. Hawaiians did not select Figure 4.43 because the bird of paradise (*Strelitzia reginae*) is not native to the Hawaiian Islands. Photograph figure 4.44 of the *naupaka* (*Scaevola*) is associated with a story about Pele separating lovers, making a half flower grow by the sea and its counterpart grow on the mountain to represent her placement of the lovers; however, A'ala said the lehua is used in hula to represent Pele. As the researcher understands from the participants, the differentiation seems to be that

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[50] *Kino lau* refers to the "many forms taken by a supernatural body, as Pele, who could at will become a flame of fire, a young girl, or an old hag" (Pukui and Elbert 1986:153).

the *lehua* represents Pele and the story how the *ʻōhiʻa* tree came to have *lehua* flowers whereas the *naupaka* flower (*Scaevola*) simply represents Pele's actions on the lovers.

The "Land" Category

The "land" category presented a variety of visual elements of the public environment – waterfalls, rain forest, an rock with offerings to *Kanaloa*[51], lava flow, underwater, sunset, *Mauna Kea* alone and with canoes, and a gas station, and two petroglyphs. This category proved difficult for participants to select the "most Hawaiian" photograph. Participants saw most of them as Hawaiian before making a selection of just one photograph, with the exception of *Mauna Kea* and gas station landscape photograph. Occasionally a participant would offer their second, third, and even fourth selections for "most Hawaiian." Kamaka hinted at divergent streams of interest amongst both Hawaiians and Hawaiʻi residents by distinguishing what would be "old Hawaiian" and "modern Hawaiian" selections. Similarly, Leilani, an activist for a sovereign Hawaiʻi, said during her walk-through, "there's a limbo between old ways and new ways—which one is the right thing to do?" Two participants selected Figure 4.47, a rain forest in Volcanoes National Park, because they considered it "green and clean," "it's the last place for native birds, it gives life, and has life always," and they simply like the rainforest. Regarding Figure 4.51, Aʻala said it was Hawaiian because "the sun plays a big part in navigation." Leilani and Aʻala specifically recalled that their ancestors were navigators. However, without hesitation, Aʻala chose Figure 4.49 as most Hawaiian because "it's the forming of new land, lava flowing into the ocean, you can't get more Hawaiian than that." Keʻala said all of the photographs were Hawaiian for him, except for the offering, Figure 4.48, because it is built. He also said, regarding Figure 4.50, "the ocean more so because it's connected, it's part of our culture" in referring to the food possible from the

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[51] "Kanaloa is the god of the ocean, which is a symbol of death" (Valeri 1985:17). Surfers tend to offer something, usually a flower or something else from nature, or a *lei*, to Kanaloa. It resembles asking for protection and safety while in the ocean as well as demonstrating respect for the ocean.

ocean. Ultimately, Ke'ala selected Figure 4.53 as most Hawaiian. This seemed to be the result of his particular attraction to outdoors activities and cognizance of the mode of transportation for his ancestors. Figure 4.55 was selected twice as "most Hawaiian" for different reasons: Kamaka said it was most Hawaiian because "a person actually drew this, the others are nature" and Noelani recalled the petroglyph of the *piko* as most Hawaiian because the *piko* is the source of life and source to her ancestors. Additionally, Noelani has a longstanding relationship with petroglyphs as she uses them in her artwork. Figures 4.45, 4.46, 4.50, and 4.51 (Chapter 4), were not selected most likely because no major intimate relationship with these particular landscape photographs existed. Figure 4.52 was not selected, but it is unknown to the researcher why, since in the pile sorting activity the majority of Hawaiians expressed an intimate cultural relationship with *Mauna Kea*. Figure 4.56 was not selected as most Hawaiian most likely because of its relative status – *piko*[52] seems above *kanaka* (mankind) in Hawaiian culture; without the source of life, no man can exist. Pukui and Elbert (1986) define *piko* as "navel, navel string, umbilical cord" and figuratively *piko* refers to "blood relative, genitals" (328). Additional definitions from Pukui and Elbert (1986) include "summit or top of a hill or mountain; crest; crown of the head; crown of the hat made on a frame; tip of the ear; end of a rope; border of a land, center, as of a fishpond wall..." (328).

Figure 4.54 was undoubtedly not selected because of the Aloha gas station sign in the foreground with *Mauna Kea* in the background. In the pile sort *Mauna Kea* in Figure 5.4 did not make Figure 5.4 more Hawaiian than Figure 4.39, an image with an apartment building and without *Mauna Kea.* The Hawaiianness of an image can lose its Hawaiian qualities because of an unnatural structure or something non-Hawaiian, such as the Aloha gas station sign (Fig. 4.54) and Café 100 (Fig. 4.18); Figure 4.48 was not selected because of its "built" component. Noelani described the fishing in Figure 4.48 as "not the Hawaiian way, it was a lifestyle for us, not an activity." Additionally, Hawaiian

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[52] Leilani referred to the piko as 'source of life' in addition to 'umbilical cord' and 'blood relative'.

participants seemed to associate "land" with "natural" as Kamaka did with Figure 4.55. The researcher also observed many Hawai'i residents making the offerings to *kai* (sea).

The "Language" Category

The "language" category worked as an extension of the "street signs" category in that it focused on Hawaiian language in a variety of forms (bilingual signs with Hawaiian on top and English underneath, or English on top and Hawaiian underneath, loanwords in Pidgin, only Hawaiian, and a Hawaiian word used in English) and on different mediums, whereas the street sign category focused on the form of the Hawaiian language on the same type of manufactured signs (green metal signs with white lettering). The majority of Hawaiians said they selected Figure 4.59 as most Hawaiian because of how the writer of the note used the Hawaiian word *aloha*. Particularly, Kamaka commented that "the writer of the letter had the feeling of *aloha*, she was sincere in her apology and understood the true meaning of *aloha*." Noelani said she selected Figure 4.57 as most Hawaiian because "Hawaiian language is above the English in the sign." Keola said he selected Figure 4.61 (above) because "it has the Local language in it, Pidgin." As Leilani said, "there's a limbo between old ways and new ways—which one is the right thing to do?" In the Hawai'i residents group, participants commented that Verna's, Figure 4.61, was a local food establishment with Pidgin language for advertising. The majority of Hawai'i residents selected Figure 4.61 because they considered it a local as well as a local person's place to eat, which includes Hawaiians and Hawai'i residents living on Hawai'i Island. Two other participants selected Figure 4.57 because they felt law was the way to achieve nationhood. This could have been the result of the involvement of Ben in the Hawaiian Sovereignty Movement, whose organization shall remain unnamed, and "seeing their side of things" as Ethan pointed out to the researcher. Ava did not support the idea of a sovereign Hawaiian nation but saw the two cultures coexisting with their respective languages, Hawaiian and English.

5.4 Categories of Analysis

After analyzing the data yielded from each activity individually, the walk-through, pile sort, and category tests, the data were then analyzed collectively in terms of general categories of analysis.

Content

Based on the photograph selections, Hawaiians have a preference for photographs that contain mostly nature, such as trees, flowers, and mountains for example. Upon arranging the photographs in order from most selected to least selected for each of the activities, the major patterns observed were: Hawaiians prefer (1) photographs that contain mostly natural visual elements over built visual elements and (2) photographs that contained people. Hawaiian participants' selections showed a preference for photographs composed with the largest amounts of nature over photographs composed with large amounts of built elements, such as power lines, cemented walls, and parking lots (refer to Table 4.3). Within a spectrum of 'natural' and 'built' as indicated by the Hawaiian participants, they showed a preference for people over built elements and a preference for Hawaiian built elements over non-Hawaiian built elements (Tables 4.3, 4.6-4.12, respectively); A'ala selected Figure 4.16 "just because of who is there. Uncle Robert and everybody. They really have done a lot to disseminate and educate people about Hawaiian culture." Figure 4.16 shows a variety of built visual elements such as a parking lot, restaurant sign, cars, and the Hawai'i state flag upside down on a metal flag pole. For A'ala, the people she knew of in Kalapana triumphed over the built elements in the image. The inference is that most of these built visual elements were probably built by the Hawaiians living in Kalapana. Recall from Figure 4.18 that A'ala did not select it as Hawaiian because the restaurant was not native, it was built by the 100th battalion of Japanese soldiers. Supporting A'ala, Kamaka suggested during the "street signs" category test that "they are all the same to me, made signs" but then he selected the one with a person in it saying it was most Hawaiian "because it's got a local guy in there and he lives here." While Hawaiian participants frequently spoke of Hawaiianness as 'natural',

none directly responded to the content of the photographs except regarding Figure 4.39, 5.11 and 5.10 commenting that "there's a big white building in the background that ruins the natural landscape of this photograph," "there are a lot of cars there," and "power lines are eyesores," respectively. One Hawai'i resident, Jacob, commented that Figure 5.11 "just has too many cars, that could be anywhere." Similarly, the Hawai'i residents indicated a favoring of natural over built visual elements of the public environment. For example, Ben made three photographs with each one excluding as much of the built visual elements of the public environment near *ka heiau* (the shrine) he photographed. While Hawaiians and Hawai'i residents have selected some of the same photographs the least in the pile sorting activity (Fig. 5.10 and 5.13) Hawai'i residents selected these two photographs more often than Hawaiians. Refer to (1) Tables 4.4 and 4.5 for participants' selections and most selected to least selected photographs by Hawaiians and Hawai'i residents in the pile sorting activity, and (2) tables 4.6-4.12 for most selected photographs in each of the category testing activities.

Subject Composition

Through the three activities, namely the pile sorting and category testing activities, Hawaiian and Hawai'i residents collectively saw photographs of Hawaiian activities, street signs with Hawaiian language, landscapes, and advertisements with representations of Hawaiian people, culture, and language as Hawaiian (refer to Tables 4.4 and 4.5 in Chapter 4). However, Hawaiians saw photographs with cultural landscapes and traditional Hawaiian activities as most Hawaiian while Hawai'i residents saw photographs with Hawaiian activities and advertisements with Hawaiian and Pidgin languages, landscapes and Hawaiian people as Hawaiian. "Cultural landscapes" refer to landscapes significant to Hawaiian culture, such as *Mauna Kea* with *Poli'ahu* as one participant said to the researcher. This is in contrast to Figure 4.46, a landscape photograph of Hilo Bay with power lines, to which two participants' responded, "there are power lines, the wires kind of mess it up." Based on photograph selections and interviews, Hawaiians photographed and selected photographs that contained natural

landscapes, nature, and even people first, Figures 4.3, 4.4, 4.8, 4.17, 4.20, 4.24, 4.34, 4.41, 4.42, 4.47, 4.55, 4.59, 5.15, and second, Hawaiian cultural activities and signs, Figures 4.39, 4.40, 4.41, and 5.4. Hawai'i residents first selected photographs that contained activities, such as fishing, canoeing, and swimming, an endemic flower, signs, and the Kamehameha the Great statue, Figures 4.18, 4.19, 4.20, 4.24, 4.33, 4.39, 4.41, 4.43, 4.40, 4.48, 4.61, 5.4, 5.5, and 5.6. Secondly, they chose more built or constructed visual elements such as street signs, upside down Hawai'i state flag, and a photograph of the farmer's market in downtown Hilo, Figures 4.15, 5.16, 5.17, 4.16, and 5.7. While both groups selected as Hawaiian photographs showing activities such as fishing, canoeing, and swimming, Hawaiians mostly recognized these activities as traditional and serving a functional purpose in sustaining Hawaiian culture. Hawai'i residents recognized traditional Hawaiian activities mostly as "it's part of Hawaiian culture," (Arthur). "Hawaiians can be found by the water," according to Alfred, pointing out the Hawaiianness of the people as opposed to the cultural activities.

Participant Responses

Before each activity, I asked participants, "what do you see as "Hawaiian" or "not Hawaiian" and why?" rather than starting off with specified photographs of visual elements of the public environment of Hawai'i Island. Participants could think of anything they wanted to share that they saw as "Hawaiian" or "not Hawaiian." The responses provided more ethnographic insight into participants' selections of photographs in the activities and additional responses that followed. Additionally, I asked participants to explain their selections from the pile sorting and category testing activities. As mentioned above, there was one overarching divergence in the results: Hawaiian perceptions differed from Hawai'i resident perceptions of what is or is not Hawaiian. These themes are broken down into patterns of responses for each group of participants. The most common responses for Hawaiian participants' selections of photographs were: embodiment of Hawaiianness, an association with Hawaiian sovereignty, or Hawaiian culture. The most common themes from Hawai'i residents' explanations for their

photograph selections was Hawaiian culture, and Hawaiian sovereignty. The most common responses for Hawaiian participants' not selecting certain photographs were: "it's not the Hawaiian way" and they were somehow associated with colonization. The most common responses for Hawai'i residents' rejection of certain photographs were: "tourists do it," and "not specific to Hawai'i." Two key themes overlap between Hawaiians and Hawai'i residents: Hawaiian culture and Hawaiian sovereignty.

"Expressions of Hawaiianness." This theme was the most prevalent among the responses of Hawaiian participants. Regarding Figure 4.59, Kamaka stated, "because of the feeling of *aloha* for the customer is there, the person is very apologetic that she could not serve food that day. She may not be Hawaiian but has the Hawaiian feeling." For Kamaka, a person understanding the correct Hawaiian feeling, the feeling of *aloha* in this case, was most important to him in his perception of the photograph as Hawaiian. I would not characterize this as the same as the spirit of ordinary customer service because often a personal note is not left to apologize for the services that could not be obtained by the customer. Instead, customer service is an immediate polite reaction but not one of aloha. A'ala said, regarding why she did not select Figure 4.15, "it just doesn't inspire Hawaiian." The response of A'ala to Figure 4.15 could be from seeing the majority of the photograph with a parking lot rather than actually being at the place, Pohoiki. Also, the photograph may not have inspired anything Hawaiian in her mind because Pohoiki has changed dramatically since the my initial observations from 2005-2006, changing from a very rural spot to a place similar to a state park, even though a park existed prior to the state's creation of a paved parking lot. During my fieldwork to Hawai'i Island from December 2008 to January 2009, Ke'ala told me of the upcoming construction planned for Pohoiki in the *Puna* District. Pohoiki used to be a popular surf spot for locals, Hawaiians, and even temporary college students but, as for Ke'ala, he did not want to go there anymore.

"Hawaiian sovereignty." Participants raised issues of the Hawaiian Sovereignty Movement, most often regarding factions within the movement (Merry 1997). Other issues that surfaced were the effects of colonization on land, people, language, and culture. Participant narratives provided opportunities to ask additional questions to gain a deeper understanding of their perceptions of sovereignty, if the topic came up and if the participant seemed comfortable discussing the topic. Such questions included (1) "how do you feel about sovereignty? (2) "Do you see a sovereign nation possible?" and (3) "Why or why not?" For example, Leilani, an activist for a sovereign Hawai'i, explained, "With the nation, that's part of the unclarity of things. A lot of people are still trying to figure out if this is gonna work for us. People think we're gonna have to revert back to our old ways, that McDonald's is gonna go away [referring to independence from the United States]."

In my observations, both Hawaiians and Hawai'i residents expressed concern for their lack of unity, pointing out that there was plenty of common ground. The factions all had the same goals but the priority assigned to goals varied from group to group. Much of the interview time I listened to participants' narratives explaining Hawaiian culture, how it worked, and the Hawaiian way. Kealoha and Leilani began their narratives with asking about my familiarity with what happened in Hawai'i, referring to the history of the Hawaiian Islands, beginning with Captain Cook or the involvement of the United States. Five other Hawaiian participants brought up the subject of the detriments to Hawaiian culture encouraged by the arrival of missionaries and current United States' presence in Hawai'i. Malia saw this history encapsulated in recent practices: "I see the over-developed real estate nightmare as part of the problem that should always be central to how sovereignty is talked about." For her, sovereignty raised many important issues and none could be left out because she considered them all intertwined. In our conversation, she spoke about "green sovereignty," explaining "it is the concept of discussing Hawaiian sovereignty and independence as real independence." The independence she refers to regards imports to the islands and stopping as much building on the islands as possible

because it is not healthy for the land, culture, or people. These ideas are expressed in her documentary film.

Kealoha very much wanted to talk about his imaginings of a Hawaiian nation. I had seen his Hawai'i state flag upside down many times before, even in 2005 and 2006 when I lived there. This time one of my participants directed me to Kealoha. He is known as 'Uncle', as are others who are leaders with in the Hawaiian Sovereignty Movement or respected community members. One of the first questions asked to Kealoha was "what does the Hawai'i state flag upside down mean for you?" He responded that he put it up "to make a post office," he says, "to erect every nation's flag [in a row on each side of a sidewalk entrance into the post office] to make it embassy-like." He explained that the reason for making a post office first for the Hawaiian nation is "because post offices document communication. Then people can see the Hawaiian nation exists." He also mentioned President Obama, saying he hopes for good things from him, especially regarding Cuba, "because Guantanamo was stolen too." Our discussion shifted briefly to military, where he brought up the name of the military base on Hawai'i Island, at the base of *Mauna Kea*: "There's a military base called Ft. Bradley. It's propaganda. It should be named Poakalo." The name change flooded him with discontent with well-known names on street signs, explaining that "street signs with "Dole" and "Cook" should not honor these people but "should tell the truth about Castle and Cook, Dole, and Thurston because they were conspirators." Kealoha explained that "more things in Hawaiian and more street signs in Hawaiian helps tourists to learn about Hawaiian culture," unlike the stories the "Dole" and "Cook" signs told. To Kealoha, the use of Hawaiian language on the streets signs was important for educating Hawai'i residents and visitors about Hawaiian culture and history and for keeping it alive rather than destroying it by using English on signs instead of Hawaiian. He commented that the language would not be hard to learn if tourists could see it more often on the signs in the Hawaiian Islands. Then he expressed that "the newspapers in Hawaiian are few and far between now." This upset him a great deal because he remembered that Hawaiian used to flourish but with the absence of the

newspapers as mainstream media, he felt the language was under attack. He shared a memory with me from his time in high school on the Mainland; "[he] had to learn Huckleberry Finn and speak in that manner," referring to the style of English in the book rather than Hawaiian or Pidgin.

Hawai'i residents reflected on the subject of sovereignty in response to the image of the Hawai'i State flag upside down (Fig. 4.16). Ava explained, "I don't see anything that would be proud to be representative of Hawaii for me, I don't know about Hawaiians." Ava did not want to talk further about this subject. Jacob said, "Kalapana reminds me of old Hawai'i," referring to the sheer appearance of the place, Kalapana, in Figure 4.16. Participants seemed uncomfortable discussing their personal views about sovereignty and I did not probe. Participants mostly noted the basic requirements for having a nation, such as a flag, and economic independence. Addison and Ethan noted that a nation should have its own higher education institution, referring to Figure 5.6.

A Hawai'i resident, Ben, saw Figure 4.39 as Hawaiian because he saw a place for markedly Hawaiian symbols such as canoes in an independent Hawai'i, economically based on the tourism industry:

> I think tourism is always going to be part of our economy. Even under sovereignty. People are going to want to come here. I think a lot of tourists come here to see the culture. They don't come here to sit on a boat, but there are a lot of places that are a lot cheaper to hang out on a boat. The hotels embrace Hawaiian culture. Everything around has a Hawaiian feel to it. All the stuff they sell to tourists has something Hawaiian in it. Tikis were introduced, not necessarily Hawaiian but still part of it. Even though the tourists are here, they want to have an interaction with Hawaiian culture. They end up sharing what they have, like Hawaiians do. Uncle John, he makes the coconut frond crafts and people give him money.

In his vision, an independent Hawai'i would be Hawai'i on display, a tourist nation. Others see just the opposite. Jacob, referring to Figure 4.17 stated, "The crater isn't Hawaiian because all the tourists go there. Volcanoes are a part of Hawaiian culture. I just think of the people I guess." Ethan responded to an independent Hawai'i, "If we're going

to have a nation here of some sort, then that would probably be the symbol (referring to the Kamehameha statue in downtown Hilo). I asked him if he would have photographed that as Hawaiian? To which he responded "probably not, because it's been glorified as a tourist icon."

"Hawaiian culture." Participants were asked to explain why they saw something as Hawaiian: for most participants, they considered photographs with Hawaiian language, activities, technology, and nature as Hawaiian. Most participants identified Hawaiian cultural details in their explanations of why they saw certain photographs as Hawaiian. Ikaika, a Hawaiian Noble in the Reinstated Hawaiian Government, saw photographs of green signs, such as Figures 5.2, 5.16, and 5.17, with white lettering as Hawaiian because they had Hawaiian language on them: "I think signs with Hawaiian are a great thing, you're in Hawai'i, things should be in Hawaiian." In discussion about observatory building on *Mauna Kea*, Leilani, a Hawaiian, responded,

> I don't think we're any different than any other people on this earth with wanting to know where we came from (referring to building the observatories). Our ancestors were discoverers. Kalākaua was a technological enthusiast. *Mauna Kea* is about going into the unknown too. But today, enough is enough, there's been too much building and this has been the case in the last 10 years. Enough is enough.

A'ala selected Figure 4.41 because "fishing is such a huge part of our culture. And to see *Poli'ahu* in the background on *Mauna Kea*. I just think it is really nice." However, this is in contrast to Figure 4.15 showing local people having a snowball game (see discussion on p. 138) Ke'ala saw Figure 5.5 (Kamehmeha the Great statue) as Hawaiian, and explained, "I wish I knew the guy. He fought hard for uniting the islands even though blood had to be shed. It brought everyone together." Ava said Figure 5.14, the postcard of Queen Lili'uokalani inscribed with *Aloha 'oe* (literally: "I love you," "may you be loved," figuratively: "until we meet again"), was Hawaiian. She said she saw the photograph as Hawaiian because "It's how they still remember the Queen," referring to

one of the ways Hawaiians can see their past. Jacob referred to Figure 4.39 as "a symbol of Hawai'i Island that it's not all built up. They have a law. They made it where you can't build a building over a certain amount of feet in Hilo or Hawai'i Island. When I think of Hawai'i, Hawaiian, I think of the people." Lastly, Alfred selected mostly photographs with water, and photographed the water during his walk-through, as Hawaiian. For him, "people in the water, that to me is what Hawai'i is all about."

"Hawaiian Language in the Visual Landscape." Participants rarely directly talked about colonization but rather the effects of colonization on Hawaiians or simply identified things responsible for colonizing the Hawaiian Islands. Referring to photographs of street signs with English and Hawaiian on them, A'ala stated that the photograph with Hawaiian and appropriate Hawaiian macron (kahakō) was most Hawaiian: "I did not pick 'Bishop Street' because Bishop was one of the colonizers and industrializers of Hawai'i." Participant 9, a professor at the University of Hawai'i Mānoa, spoke about signs with Hawaiian and English underneath. He described them as "appropriation, the state acting Hawaiian, making itself Hawaiian."

"Not specific to Hawai'i." Ava stated about Figure 5.15, "it's just an instructional sign, it could be anywhere I guess. Even with the Hawaiian name." Jacob selected Figure 5.8 as "not Hawaiian" and explained that "it just looks like a cross walk to me. You can find it anywhere. I know it is the bus stop. It's actually a very local place, a lot of local people there. But it's something you see anywhere." These two participants responded to photographs they did not select as "Hawaiian" because the object in the photographs were not specific to the Hawaiian Islands.

Participants frequently gave explanations for their selections in terms of the role of whatever was depicted plays in cultural growth and sustainability. Much of the data collected through the three activities suggest (1) Hawaiians are negotiating identities so as to be culturally sustainable, whether by seeing themselves in the visual elements of the

public environment of Hawai'i Island or cultural projects related to making space for Hawaiians in the public environment of Hawai'i Island, and (2) Hawai'i residents' knowledge about Hawaiian culture on which they based their choices comes from a mixture of sources. These include *Local* perceptions and both positive and negative appropriations from tourism.

5.5 Limitations

Although the activities presented here provided some insight into the similarities and differences in perceptions of Hawaiian identity between Hawaiians and Hawai'i residents, there were several limitations to the study. The first limitation was related to the sample size. The sample size was very small – the two groups that emerged had six to seven residents each participating in each of the activities. The second limitation was related to the sample. The sample intentionally targeted anyone who resided on Hawai'i Island; however, it should have only included people who were born and raised in Hawai'i or possibly only those born and raised on Hawai'i Island because of the diversity in Hawaiian identity throughout the Hawaiian Island chain. The third limitation was related to timing. The researcher arrived 28 December, 2008, a time just after Christmas Day but before New Year's Eve. Therefore, there were four weeks available for interview out of the five weeks total for fieldwork. This week was used for the necessary, contemporary photographic observations but was also a limitation. The fourth limitation was related to weather. December and January are in the rainy season in the Hawaiian Islands. Rain showers were scattered or lasted all day long, making participant photographic observations almost impossible in Hilo. The fifth limitation was related to the implementation of the category testing and pile sorting activities. The category tests could have been more equalized by having the same number of photographs for each test and limiting the number of photographs for each test to four, five, or six. While the category testing activity was useful for baselining Hawaiian identity, the pile sorting was more useful in understanding individual perceptions and constructions of what is and is not Hawaiian. The pile sorting activity could be modified to have participants rank their

selections of "Hawaiian" or simply to rank a set of photograph from most to least Hawaiian and then have them explain their selections of the photographs selected as "Hawaiian." Certainly if the pile sorting activity were used again, more photographs should be added for clarity of what is and is not Hawaiian. The pile sorting activity could potentially be developed to be able to omit the walk-through and category testing activities.

Chapter 6: Conclusions

This research explored Hawaiian and Hawai'i residents' perceptions of Hawaiianness on contemporary Hawai'i Island by (1) identifying visual elements in the public environment that are seen as "Hawaiian" or seen as "not Hawaiian," (2) gaining a deeper understanding of why such visual elements are marked as "Hawaiian" or "not Hawaiian," (3) identifying commonalities among elements identified as "Hawaiian" or "not Hawaiian," and (4) illuminating divergences and similarities in Hawaiian and Hawai'i resident perceptions through understanding the sources of differences and similarities. Three conclusions can be made from this study: (1) Hawaiians prefer images with natural elements over built elements and non-Hawaiians prefer images with activities and natural elements to images indicating overbuilt spaces, (2) Hawaiians place significance on the overall aesthetics of an image or scene — the landscape can be marred by particular kinds of objects or structures including built or non-Hawaiian structures or both, (3) some visual elements of the public environment identified as Hawaiian by Hawaiians have not to do with Hawaiianness of the actual visual element but what the visual element represents for Hawaiian social, visual, and cultural sustainability, and (4) certain Hawaiian and Hawai'i resident selections indicated an influence from tourism, government agencies, and acquired information in their perceptions of Hawaiianness.

The first conclusion is that some visual elements of the public environment on Hawai'i Island have been identified as Hawaiian by Hawaiians while others were not seen as Hawaiian due to their perceived lack of nativeness or usefulness to Hawaiian culture. Some Hawaiians selected images as Hawaiian because they could see the depicted objects' usefulness for sustaining Hawaiian culture. Hawaiians preferred images containing a natural environment over a built environment in general, unless the built environment was built by a Hawaiian person, had a Hawaiian or *Local* person in it, or if Hawaiians saw some remnants of Hawaiianness in the image.

The second conclusion is that some visual elements of the public environment have been identified as being Hawaiian because Hawaiians and Hawai'i residents see a purpose of particular visual elements in Hawaiian social, visual, and cultural sustainability.

The third conclusion is that the visual elements of the public environment identified as Hawaiian have some relationship to the portrayal of Hawaiianness by the tourism industry, government policies, and acquired information from living in the Hawaiian Islands. Some of the visual elements of the public environment identified by Hawai'i residents as "Hawaiian" seem to indicate the impact of tourism on their perceptions of the exotic native — as Linnekin (2004) indicated from transnational tourism marketing, the non-Hawaiian participants perceive differences between their culture and Hawaiian culture in the same way as other Hawai'i residents in the group. Knowledge of Hawaiianness is sometimes wrapped up in images from Hawaiian tourism or the American history of Hawai'i (Pearl Harbor, statehood, etc.). This contrasts with the Hawaiian history of the Hawaiian Islands.

This research describes how people with different historical backgrounds can be influenced differently, by similar surroundings. Also it has demonstrated how colonial history, government policies, and tourism practices can affect residents' perceptions about the Hawaiianness of or in visual elements of the public environment on Hawai'i Island. Are the visual elements in the public environment of Hawai'i Island a result of assimilation, that is, the conforming of visual elements of the public environment to popular notions about Hawaiianness? Are they hegemonic devices used to tell a particular story about the Hawaiian Islands, or are they simply visual elements that need to be confronted with *Hawaiian* perceptions and updated to reflect Hawaiianness as perceived by Hawaiians? The identity negotiation and desires for cultural regrowth presented in Chapter 5 contributes to Hawaiian cultural sustainability and the independent research participants shared with me empowers Hawaiians with authentic knowledge that could be used to provide a more authentic experience for travelers to come as Hawaiians negotiate

their identities to fit with contemporary conditions. This thesis only began to analyze the deeply embedded hegemonic devices and uncovering the meaning of Hawaiianness according to Hawaiians and Hawai'i residents to provide information useful to Hawaiians seeking to change current perceptions, policies, and political definitions for Hawaiians and Hawaiian lands.

Future Research

My research investigated perceptions of Hawaiianness from Hawaiians and Hawai'i residents on Hawai'i Island. At the convergence of tourism and local communities' cultural resources through a diverse background of projects, cultural groups, travels, and fieldwork, I bring a deep concern for the effects of tourism on local communities and their cultural resources as the tourism industry becomes one of the fastest growing economic sectors in the world. Some future avenues of research called for by this study include: (1) a more thorough investigation of the identity politics and citizenship issues associated with tourism, in general, but also as a development tool and the subsequent influx of visitors. (2) With the designation of UNESCO World Heritage Sites as a means of transforming landscapes into heritage sites, and ultimately into international tourist destinations, what are the processes of development and heritage conservation policies for tourism plans in developing areas? (3) How does the global heritage tourism industry manifest at the community level? Future research would include an examination of Hawaiian place and space with regards to the Hilo Farmers' Market, currently a contested space. An avenue from the farmers' market would include an investigation of perceptions of healthy eating and Hawaiians' and Hawai'i residents' perceptions of Hawaiian food.

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Appendix A: IRB Protocal Application and Modification Approval

UNIVERSITY OF ALASKA FAIRBANKS

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Institutional Review Board
909 N Koyukuk Dr. Suite 212, P.O. Box 757270, Fairbanks, Alaska 99775-7270

December 23, 2008

To: David Koester, PhD
Principal Investigator

From: Bridget Stockdale, Research Integrity Administrator
Office of Research Integrity

Re: IRB Protocol Application

Thank you for submitting the IRB protocol application identified below. This protocol has been administratively reviewed and determined to meet the requirements specified in the federal regulations regarding human subjects' protections for exempt research under 45 CFR 46.101(b)(2) for research involving the use of educational test, survey procedures, interview procedures or observation of public behavior, unless: (i) information is recorded in such a manner that human subjects can be identified, directly or through identifiers linked to the subjects, and (ii) any disclosure of the human subjects' responses outside of the research could reasonably place the subjects at risk of criminal or civil liability or be damaging to the subjects' financial standing employability, or reputation.

Protocol #: 08-84

Title: *Visual Ideologies & Imagining a Hawaiian Nation*

Level: Exempt

Received: December 12, 2008 (original)
December 22, 2008 (revisions)

Review Date: December 23, 2008

If there are major changes to the scope of research or personnel involved on the project, please contact the Office of Research Integrity. Email us at fyirb@uaf.edu of call 474-7800. Contact the Office of Research Integrity if you have any questions regarding IRB policies or procedures.

UNIVERSITY OF ALASKA FAIRBANKS

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Institutional Review Board
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January 15, 2009

To: David Koester, PhD
Principal Investigator

From: Bridget Stockdale, Research Integrity Administrator
Office of Research Integrity

Re: IRB Modification Request

Thank you for submitting the modification request for the protocol identified below. It has been reviewed and approved by members of the IRB. On behalf of the IRB, I am pleased to inform you that your request has been granted.

Protocol #:	08-84
Title:	*Visual Ideologies and Imagining a Hawaiian Nation*
Modification:	To conduct interviews with residents of Oahu Island.
Level:	Exempt
Received:	January 14, 2009
Approved:	January 15, 2009

Any modification or change to this protocol must be approved by the IRB prior to implementation. Modification Request Forms are available on the IRB website (http://www.uaf.edu/irb/Forms.htm). Please contact the Office of Research Integrity if you have any questions regarding IRB policies or procedures.